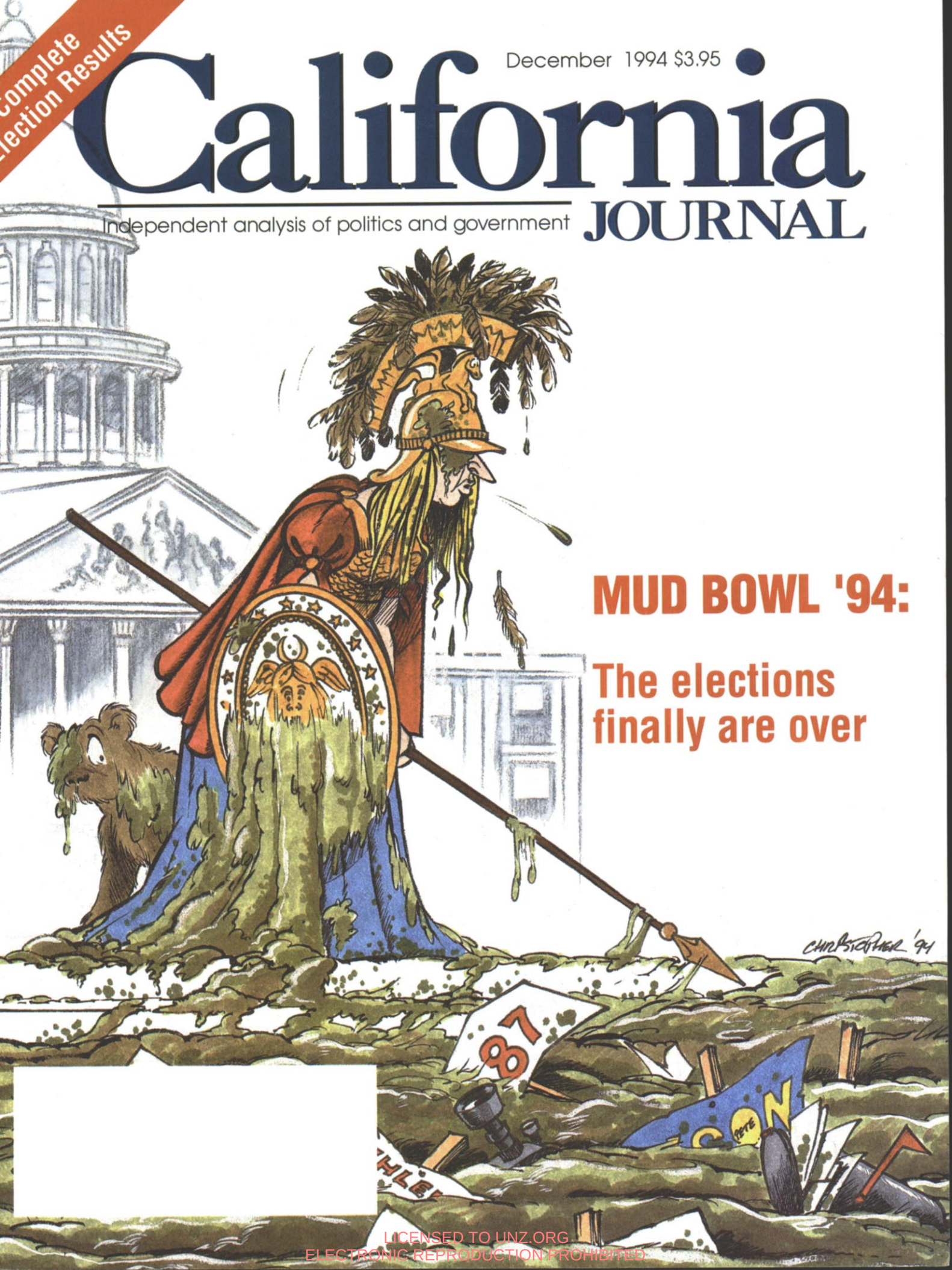
Complete Election Results

December 1994 $3.95

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government



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Reshaping Health Care in America

Dr. Walter Broadnax, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, delivered the keynote address at the 1993 California Public Affairs Forum.

Searching for a Cure

Dismayed by skyrocketing costs and a lack of universal coverage, Americans have made reforming their health care system a top priority. But achieving consensus on a plan of reform is not easy.

That's why the California Public Affairs Forum recently convened a panel of experts to study this issue. The forum is a biennial event sponsored jointly by the California Chamber of Commerce, the Bay Area Council, Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce and Hitachi, Ltd. Its purpose is to provide a forum for discussion of important issues facing California and the nation. Begun in 1987, the forums have examined state transportation problems, the jobs/housing balance, air quality control, and education reform.

No one on the panel questioned the need for health care reform. "The medical treatment that people in this country get is probably the best in the world. But it costs too much and anywhere from 34 to 37 million of us are not covered," said John Palmer, White House correspondent for Christian Science Monitor radio.

"We have in this country a moral imperative to secure health care for everyone," said Dr. Paul F. Griner, president of the American College of Physicians.

Dr. Griner and the other panelists agree that a national health care system is key to controlling runaway health care costs and eliminating the inequities in the current system. They are optimistic that the U.S. will ultimately adopt such a plan.

Fueling the panel's optimism are signs that many Americans are changing their attitudes about health care. "Health care reform has already begun in this country," said Ms. Julia Thomas, president and CEO of Bobrow / Thomas and Associates, an architectural firm that specializes in health care facilities design. "We've seen a huge move toward managed care, preventive care, and a more educated consumer."

"Health care reform is of great interest to us," said Yoshiro Kuwata, a director of Hitachi. "As an employer of more than 16,000 Americans, we are bound to feel the impact of any change in the nation's health care system."

Dr. Paul F. Griner, president of the American College of Physicians

We at Hitachi share the panel's optimism about the future of health care in the U.S. We are proud to play a role in providing a forum for discussion of issues facing us all.

To obtain copies of the speakers' presentations, please write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

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DECEMBER 1994
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California JOURNAL

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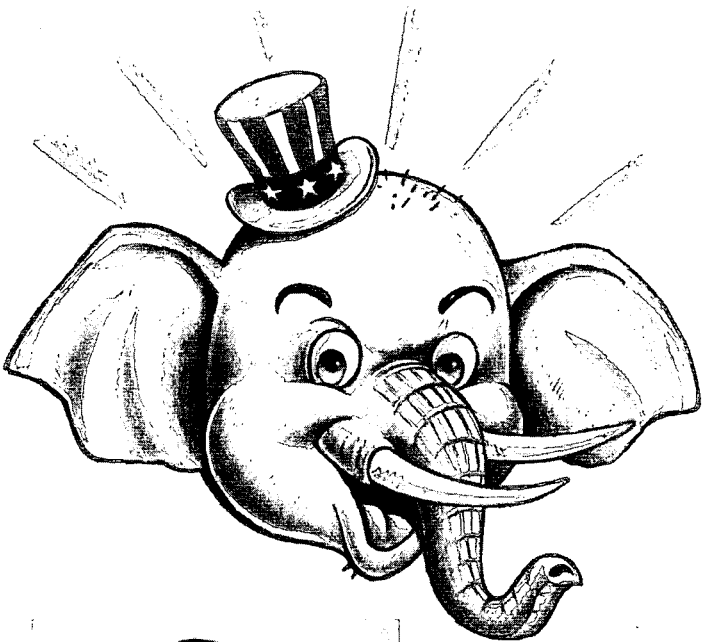
ELECTION 1994



A Republican year

6

Bolstered by a GOP deluge that swept the nation, California Republicans captured control of the Assembly, as well as six of the nine statewide constitutional offices.

By A.G. Block and Steve Scott

Governor

9

Republican Pete Wilson capped a difficult year with a stunning come-from-behind re-election victory over Democrat Kathleen Brown.

By Steve Scott

U.S. Senate

12

The campaign was expensive and vicious, but incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein eked out a narrow victory over Republican Michael Huffington.

By A.G. Block

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Pollies. It's the Oscar for political consultants, and it's handed out at by the American Association of Political Consultants at its annual awards conference in January in Washington, D.C. The categories were relatively straight forward: direct-mail persuasion, fund raising, print and graphics, outdoor display, radio ad, television ad (30 seconds or less), television ad (30 seconds or more). Yes, well, after observing the 1994 campaign for more than eight months now, we can think of a few more categories:

- Albatross award: best effort to tie President Bill Clinton firmly around your opponent's neck (either party may apply);
- Cherry-tree award: best effort to stretch one meager kernel of factual information into a horn-blaring, bell-clanging, bald-faced lie;
- Boat people award: best effort to sail to victory on the backs of illegal immigrants;
- Henry David Thoreau award: best concoction of pond scum masquerading as a campaign theme;
- Michael Dukakis award (armor plated): best effort to neutralize your opponent's strongest campaign issue;
- Chicago Cubs 1969 Memorial award: best effort to squander a 20-point lead;
- Leroy Brown award: best impersonation of a junkyard dog;
- Donald Fehr-Dick Ravitch award: best effort to obscure an important issue with meaningless statistics.

Rag mag? Is a national political magazine in the offing? The non-partisan effort is supposed to be called *George*, but the guy trying to get it off the ground has a decidedly Democratic pedigree — John F. Kennedy Jr. According to *Folio* Magazine, Kennedy promises that his mag will be to politics what *Rolling Stone* is to music. By the by, Kennedy's partner is said to be one Michael Berman. Is this *the* Michael Berman?

WE WANTED CHANGE. WE GOT TIRED OF THE ASSEMBLY DEMOCRATS NOT BEING ABLE TO DELIVER. NOW, WE EXPECT YOU TO DELIVER!
CA. VOTER IMPATIENCE
YOU'LL HAVE 30 MINUTES.
GREENBERG for CALIFORNIA JOURNAL 1994

Illustration by Steve Greenberg

Chutzpah scorecard. It was hard to keep track of the hubris being shoveled into the recent campaign season, but Senator Leroy Greene (D-Carmichael) deserves a special tip of the hat. Seems Greene challenged his opponent — Sacramento County Supervisor Dave Cox — to sign a pledge saying Cox would not accept a pay raise if elected. Cox signed. But when Cox challenged Greene to sign a similar pledge, the incumbent refused. "I would accept a salary increase," Greene said during a debate. "I gave up an engineering business that was paying me $300,000-400,000 a year in today's money. ... I know more than a neopyhte coming in. I'm worth almost as much as a professional athlete playing baseball or football. I'm worth more."

From the inside. Latest newsletter to clutter our mailbox: a little tornado from the Clay Jackson Legal Rights and Defense Committee. It's sponsored by the folks who are helping the convicted lobbyist defray the cost of his appeal. Clay reports that he is bored.

Just desserts? The three sleaziest hits in races for statewide office in 1994 were perpetrated by attorney general candidate Tom Umberg, U.S. Senate hopeful Michael Huffington and treasurer wanna-be Phil Angelides. What a coincidence — all three lost.

Good guy award. In an election season marked by some of the sleaziest, slimiest, most lie-filled political advertising yet foisted on California voters, one candidate so stood out on the high road, his campaign conducted with polish and humor. Hats off to Tom McClintock, the former Republican assemblyman from Ventura County who lost his bid for controller. The centerpieces of McClintock's campaign were radio and television spots featuring the candidate's fictional cousin — "Angus McClintock" — extolling cousin Tom's main virtue: He's tight with a dollar.

No nothings. U.S. Senate candidate Michael Huffington appeared on ABC-TV's "This Week with David Brinkley" a few weeks before the election and sat for a grilling over "nannygate." But he also was grilled by commentator George Will on

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government's role in society. Huffington agreed that the federal government ought to sponsor, among other things, a federal highway program. Will then asked whether government ought to provide crop subsidies to agriculture. Huffington replied that California farmers and ranchers don't grow many subsidized crops, so he'd be against 'em. Unfortunately, neither Will, Brinkley nor colleague Sam Donaldson knew enough about California to ask Huffington if the government ought to help pay for another commodity that *is* heavily subsidized — water.

The time vote. Governor Pete Wilson received an unusual request last month from a Eureka woman who said she didn't plan to vote because she was disgusted with everything about Campaign '94. But she'd vote for Wilson if he'd do one thing: Do away with daylight savings time. Never mind that the request was delivered to Wilson care of KFBK radio in Sacramento, our attention was drawn to the reason for her request. "I have three clocks in each room in my house, not counting all my wrist watches ..." No word on the guv's response.

Campaign '96. Now that we've disposed of the 1994 election, gird yourself. Here comes 1996, and the first state candidate silly enough to announce his intentions is Brian Finander, running for the Democratic nomination in the 27th Senate District. Incumbent Republican Bob Beverly will be finished, thanks to term limits, and Finander wants a running start at replacing him. Finander lost to Beverly in 1992 by less than 2000 votes, while spending less than $60,000 on the effort. The Democrat might make note of one small fact, however: In '92 a pair of Democrats were elected in the Assembly districts that nest inside the 27th — and both (Betty Karnette and Bob Epple) were defeated for re-election last month. Meanwhile, a personal note to Mr. Finander on behalf of all of us emersed in the recent election: PUT A CORK IN IT FOR A WHILE!

Jump master. On a runway apron 30 miles from Beijing, China, California Supreme Court Associate Justice Armand Arabian marched forward in a combat uniform, snapped to attention, saluted the Chinese colonel in command, and received his badge from the People's Liberation Army for parachuting from a military airplane. Now, you can watch the justcie also inspect PLA tanks and fighter jets on a video tape from Friendship Airborne Tours of Racine, Wisconsin — the group that arranged a vacation week of training by the Chinese Army for Arabian and 16 companions at an airfield that also served as the staging area for troops who killed 1000 students at Tian An Men Square. "It makes me sad to know a judge would do this," says Li Lu, who was president of the Student Congress in Beijing when it organized the Tian An Men rally. Li now attends Columbia Law School in New York and is on China's most-wanted list. — *Ed Connolly*

Civil service status? The Integrated Waste Management Board reports that it has hired 15,000 new employees in recent months to produce compost in various board offices. The workers are responsible for turning leftover apple cores, banana peels and other organic waste into garden fertilizer. There is no word on whether the new minions will be granted civil-service status, or whether they are classified as exempt. The board also did not report the salary for these new workers. Oh, by the way, the 15,000 new employees are worms.

"When two texts, or two assertions, or perhaps two ideas, are in contradiction, be ready to reconcile them rather than cancel one by the other; regard them as two different facets, or two successive stages, of the same reality, a reality convincingly human just because it is complex."
— Marguerite Yourcenar

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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Election 1994

A day to savor for Republicans

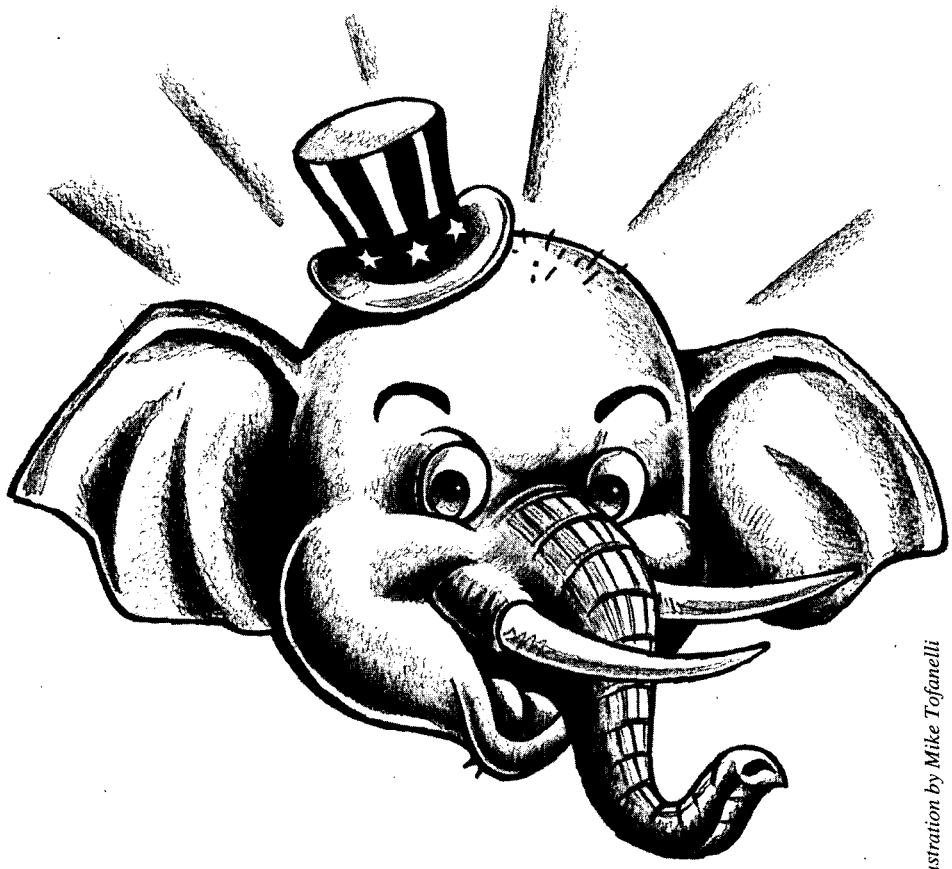

Illustration by Mike Tofanelli

Election Day 1994 was a day that California Republicans long will savor, a day of historic proportions that outstripped the party's wildest dreams: a re-elected governor who began the year 23 points behind his challenger; four of the state's six other partisan, statewide constitutional offices; a gain of perhaps five congressional seats; a pick up of one, perhaps two state Senate seats; and — pinch us, please — probable *control* of the Assembly.

"It was a great day to be an American," crowed state Senator Bill Leonard (R-Redlands), with some justification.

The Republican deluge followed a national trend that saw the GOP capture control of both houses of Congress and a majority of governorships, while not suffering a single defeat to any Republican incumbent for governor, U.S. Senate or the House of Representatives. Swept away in the torrent were such Democratic lions as New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Speaker of the House Tom Foley of Washington, and Senator Jim Sasser of Tennessee, who had been on the verge of succeeding George Mitchell as Democratic leader of the Senate. About the only glimmer of light for Democrats nationally was the apparent re-election of Dianne Feinstein to the U.S. Senate (see page 12).

"The roar you heard was the Democratic political establishment crumbling," said Steve Merksamer, a consultant to Republicans and once chief of staff to former Governor George Deukmejian.

"It was an unmitigated disaster," said Democratic consultant Dwayne Garrett, Feinstein's campaign chairman. "It was the major anti-Democratic watershed election of the post-World War II period."

In California, nowhere was that disaster more visible than in the Assembly, where the Democrats' 47-33 advantage eroded throughout Election Night like the banks of a decayed levee, leaving the faithful who gathered in Speaker Willie Brown Jr.'s Capitol suite gloomy and uncertain.

Torn away were those districts in moderate to conservative areas such as the Central Valley, Orange County and San Diego where Democrats had ridden their own tide to victory in 1992. Gone was Margaret Snyder in Modesto's 25th District, her demise helped along by a $220,000 GOP dump into the campaign of her opponent, George House, during the final week. Gone was Bob Epple in Norwalk's 56th District. Gone was Tom Connolly in San Diego's 77th District. Gone was Julie Bornstein, *California Journal's* "rookie of the year," in Imperial County's 80th District. Gone the next week was Betty

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Karnette in Long Beach's 54th District, her 64-vote lead on Election Night wiped out by an avalanche of absentee ballots. Gone, too, were four open districts in Fresno, San Jose, Santa Barbara and Garden Grove that once belonged to the likes of Rusty Areias, Jim Costa, Jack O'Connell and Tom Umberg. The lone bright spot shone forth from Stockton where Democrat Mike Machado won the seat previously held by Republican Dean Andal.

The true scope of the Democratic debacle came more clearly into focus the week after the election, when absentee ballots had been counted and the close contests settled. Republicans controled 41 seats — enough to elect Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga) the first Republican speaker since Bob Monagan won that post back in 1969.

Speaker Willie Brown Jr. tried to appear upbeat on the day after the election, but the veteran lawmaker sounded like a man whistling past the graveyard. His speakership seemed balanced on a friendly result from the absentee count, especially in Karnette's district and in Areias' old 28th District where Republican Peter Frusetta held a 780-vote margin over Democrat Lily Cervantes. But the odds of that happening seemed long at the time, and in fact disappeared as final vote tallies began rolling out from the counties. Like everyone else, Brown was left to sift through the debris to find some flicker of the future.

"I still plan to be speaker," Brown said. "My job is not dependent on my success in seats, as long as I have 41." Asked if he has 41 votes, Brown said, "I don't think anybody else has 41."

As it became apparent that Republicans controlled the house, Brulte declared he would be speaker. But insiders held out the possibility that intrigues and coalitions might allow Brown to hang on. Some speculated that Brown might make overtures toward Assemblyman Paul Horcher (R-Diamond Bar), a renegade often on the outs with his own caucus. Asked if Horcher was being courted, Brown said, "What a lovely thought." Others pondered the possibility that Republicans might make similar overtures to the few remaining moderate Democrats, such as Debra Bowen of Marina del Rey. Compounding all of it was the situation regarding Assemblyman Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia), who was elected to both the Assembly and Senate — the latter in a special election to replace Republican Frank Hill. Mountjoy is expected to remain in the Assembly until the speakership is resolved — but once he leaves, the GOP will be shorn of a vote until his replacement is elected sometime during the spring.

Republicans, on the other hand, began to contemplate the problems of governance after a quarter century in the wilderness. "They'll want to establish a record of being productive," said Leonard.

"It remains to be seen if [the 1994] vote is a permanent realignment," Merksamer said. "The key is how the Republican Party exercises its mandate. If it does a good job over the next two years, this will be the advance guard of a permanent sea change, a permanent realignment. But if the Republicans fail, and the public continues to be frustrated and angry and cynical with the political class, people may consider the option of a third or fourth party. This is going to be a difficult task, because we have to step up to the plate and govern ... in a way that is fair and inclusive of everyone in the process."

Governing could prove difficult, especially where supermajorities are required to pass bills, including the state budget. It has proven hard enough to patch together the 54 Assembly votes needed to enact a budget in recent years, a predicament compounded by last month's election, which gouged out chunks of the center.

The Democratic caucus veered to the left because a majority of the wipe outs were moderates, leaving an influential group of liberal Democrats from safe urban districts. Assuming 39 Democrats, the breakdown might be 24 liberals, 12 moderates and three unknowns. The Republican caucus, on the other hand, appeared to veer to the right with the election of such newcomers as House, Steve Baldwin, Jim Morrissey, Jim Battin and Phil Hawkins. In addition, of the eight Republicans who left the Assembly to either retire or run for some other office, five were considered moderates. Assuming 41 votes, a rough count might yield 12 moderates, 24 conservatives and five who swing between the two.

"This is where the rubber meets the road," said Merksamer. "The so-called moderates are disappearing ... and the argument is framed between those who want to reduce government and those who want to expand it. We're in for some nasty fights, because there doesn't seem to be much room for compromise."

Regardless of the eventual problems associated with governing, the legislator who most savored Election Night was Brulte. "Brulte has proven that he is an incredibly effective leader," said GOP political consultant Wayne Johnson. "The Republican caucus has never been united. It's been years and years and years since we've had this kind of united effort, and it paid off. He's proven that he's extremely adept."

Former Minority Leader Bob Naylor, now a Sacramento attorney and lobbyist, said that Brulte's job will get easier if he becomes speaker. "You have the power to reward your friends and punish your enemies," said Naylor. "Brulte, who has done a brilliant job uniting the caucus, keeping the battles behind closed doors, has proven very skillful."

The Assembly was only the most visible sign of the Republican resurgence. The GOP now controls a majority of the statewide constitutional offices, as well. In addition to governor and attorney general — where Pete Wilson and Dan Lungren were re-elected — Republicans Matt Fong, Bill Jones and Charles Quackenbush were elected treasurer, secretary of state and insurance commissioner, respectively. The only Democratic constitutional officers to survive were Lieutenant Governor-elect Gray Davis and Controller-elect Kathleen Connell. Democrat Delaine Eastin also was elected to the nonpartisan office of superintendent of public instruction. Republicans also gained a tie on the Board of Equalization.

In the state Senate, Democrats held onto control, but barely. They lost two and gained one, for a net loss of one. Gone were the 36th District previously held by Democrat Bob Presley, which fell to Republican Ray Haynes; and the 12th District where Democrat Dan McCorquodale was knocked off by Republican Dick Monteith. They picked up the 16th District, where Assemblyman Jim Costa ousted Senator Phil Wyman. That gives Democrats a 21-17 margin, with two independents.

Now it remains to be seen what the historic results of the 1994 election hold for California, and for Governor Pete Wilson, who is faced with a Legislature more polarized than ever between the left and right.

— A.G. Block and Steve Scott

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Governor

Brown (D)	3,191,428	(41)
Wilson (R)*	**4,357,713**	**(55)**
McCready (AI)	122,726	(2)
Rider (L)	136,578	(2)
LaRiva (P)	73,117	(1)

A key to election results:
D = Democrat; R = Republican; AI = American Independent; L = Libertarian; PF = Peace and Freedom; G = Green; * = incumbent; winners in **bold** (some results in very close races may change as final vote totals were not available at press time); % = percent of the vote, rounded to the nearest whole number.

There are few things in life sweeter than being able to shove your success in the faces of those who had counted on your seemingly inevitable failure. To stand up in full view of people who has written you off and say, in effect, "Write *this* off, buddy!" For Pete Wilson, that moment of triumph came November 8, when he stood in front of a raucous collection of campaign supporters on Election Night after having won another term as governor of California.

"A year ago," Wilson smirked, "I faced longer odds than [recently-crowned heavyweight champion] George Foreman."

To simply say that Wilson won re-election is to understate the magnitude of his accomplishment and the depths of the defeat suffered by his Democratic rival, state Treasurer Kathleen Brown. When all the votes were counted, Wilson had beaten Brown by nearly 1.2 million votes, finishing 14 percentage points ahead of the challenger. The result was so clear, so early that by 10:10 PM on Election Night, Brown was on the podium at Los Angeles' Biltmore Hotel delivering a self-serving concession speech with a touch of sour grapes.

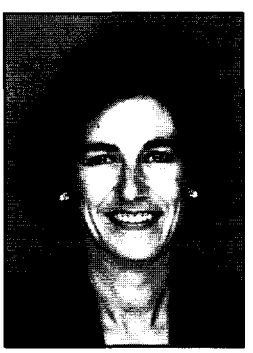
"I hope and pray that, having won the battle of tactics, [Wilson] will now use his victory to help rebuild California," she said.

There may have been more substantial victory margins in gubernatorial races, but considering where Wilson came from, it's hard to imagine a more lopsided campaign. Trailing Brown in a head-to-head match-up last year by as much as 23 percent in some polls, Wilson had already earned a spot in history as the most unpopular governor in the history of the state. Yet, Wilson seemed almost effortlessly able to convince voters that, whatever their doubts about him, the alternative was worse. Brown helped by running probably the most mistake-prone campaign in recent memory.

The '94 campaign really began in 1992. On the heels of signing the largest state tax hike in U.S. history, Wilson locked horns with the Democrat-controlled Legislature over education spending, resulting in a record 64-day budget standoff. Within months, Wilson had set another record, scoring the lowest approval rating of any governor in the history of modern polling — 15 percent. These dismal numbers were all Brown needed to be convinced that it was her time. The 48-year-old daughter of former Governor Pat Brown and sister of former Governor Jerry Brown had been considered a likely gubernatorial prospect from the moment she beat incumbent Treasurer Tom Hayes in 1990. With an air of inevitability bolstered by polls showing she'd clobber Wilson, Brown raised money by the sackful and reveled in the rapture of a doting Eastern media.

Wilson

Almost from the outset, however, Brown's campaign seemed to find every pothole in the road. A series of policy speeches, designed to dispel suggestions that she lacked substance, only enhanced that reputation as neither she nor her campaign staff could handle specific questions about her proposals. Her switch from support to opposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement smacked of a cave-in to labor interests. Her effort to tie Wilson to the parole of serial rapist Melvyn Carter was ill-informed, and had the air of a Willie Horton-style cheap shot. By spring, things were so bad that Brown shoved aside her Iowa-born campaign manager Theresa Villmain, and installed veteran California pit bull Clint Reilly. It didn't help. A re-tooled campaign message promising "one million new jobs" turned out to actually lowball most economic projections.


Brown

Hoping to capitalize on all this disarray was Brown's primary opponent, John Garamendi. As the state's first elected insurance commissioner, Garamendi had a solid reputation in a no-win job, and he also supported the death penalty, a litmus-test issue that would haunt Brown until the end. Still, even though he polled better than Brown in head-to-head match-ups with Wilson, Garamendi trailed in the only race that mattered: the race for dollars. A somewhat mistrusted figure among Democratic elites, the commish couldn't match Brown's fund-raising juggernaut. Without money to buy television time, Garamendi was never a serious threat to Brown, who beat Garamendi by the same margin she had held against him throughout the race. The only real surprise of the primary fight was the late entry of state Senator Tom Hayden, the former '60s radical and ex-husband of Jane Fonda. Hayden played the role of liberal Greek chorus to the two more centrist front-runners, and walked away with 14

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percent of the primary vote.

While Brown was busy in the primary, Wilson was methodically laying the tracks that would lead to his re-election. He turned up the heat on the crime issue, running primary spots spotlighting Brown's opposition to capital punishment. He also steadily escalated a carefully crafted strategy of confrontation with the Clinton administration over funding for illegal immigration. The only blip in the early going was a late-entering primary opponent, conservative software magnate Ron Unz. Shelling out $2 million of his own money, Unz slammed Wilson for the 1991 tax hikes, and wound up capturing a 34 percent protest vote against Wilson.

Despite the unexpected challenge, Wilson came out of the June primary with his message tuned, his coffers overflowing, and his opponent on the ropes. Rather than getting the traditional bump out of a primary victory, Brown's standing against Wilson actually eroded in the first post-primary polls. Her free fall was hastened when she tried to "explain" her opposition to capital punishment at a news conference held at the old Governor's Mansion in Sacramento. Brown wouldn't say exactly what it was about the morality or effectiveness of capital punishment she questioned. Instead, Brown invoked the memory of her father, whose opposition to capital punishment caused him to agonize over clemency cases.

"To change my position ... would be a repudiation of everything [my father] taught me," she said. Brown's muddled *mea culpa* on the death penalty was a "twofer" for Wilson. Not only did it remind voters of Brown's unpopular stand on the issue, but it also served to illustrate her inability to articulate the principles which guided her in politics — or in life.

It was all downhill from there. A summer offensive on crime in which Brown attacked Wilson's parole policies turned off Brown's Democratic base, which was already starting to have doubts about her. She unfathomably tossed a stink bomb into Dianne Feinstein's tough U.S. Senate campaign by suggesting that Feinstein had changed her position on the death penalty to run for higher office. Wilson's campaign, meanwhile, was doggedly focused. The governor hid out in Sacramento signing bills until the end of September. Wilson's handlers successfully kept the lone television debate out of prime-time and off of the network affiliates, reducing the audience for a debate that, by most accounts, Brown won.

When autumn polls showed her trailing by double digits among likely voters, the Brown campaign threw a "Hail Mary" by printing and mailing about a million booklets detailing Brown's economic plan. The mailing, and advertising which went with it, drained the campaign coffers, and with the wheels coming off, Democratic funders began looking elsewhere to put their last-minute dollars. The campaign was forced to pull a television buy scheduled for the last weekend before the election because it had run out of money.

Late in the race, Brown found a voice when there were indications that Proposition 187, the immigration initiative she opposed, might be losing steam. Seizing on the issue, Brown spoke with passion and sincerity. But it was too little, too late, especially in a year of landslides for Republicans. The vote itself was almost anti-climactic. While Brown won the Bay Area easily, Wilson won just about everywhere else, including Los Angeles County, which traditionally votes Democratic. His 14-point victory means Wilson was 37 points better in the polls against Brown than he had been a year and a half before.

Did Wilson win the election, or did Brown lose it? The answer to both questions is "yes." Brown's campaign may well rival Tom Bradley's second run against George Deukmejian as the worst in recent memory. From a tactical standpoint, the Brown effort broke every rule. It allowed Wilson to define Brown before she could define herself. It was consistently late on the draw responding to campaign developments, including attacks from Wilson. It spent weeks playing, and losing, on Wilson's turf. And despite having raised upwards of $20 million, the Brown campaign ran out of money at the end, a development some Democratic insiders termed "political malpractice."

"There was no governor's race," said Democratic Party consultant Bob Mulholland to the *Los Angeles Times*. "There was only one team on the field, and that was Wilson's."

Tactics alone don't tell the whole story, however. Brown also had trouble defining herself. Most every campaign appearance was essentially a diatribe against Wilson. When asked why she wanted to be governor, she talked not of her own reasoning, but mostly of her contempt for Wilson. Rather than playing up her position of principle on the death penalty, Brown tried to turn into "Terminator 2," attacking Wilson's parole and crime policies. Her bid to outflank Wilson on crime failed miserably, and left even supporters with the impression that she was programmed and insincere. The only thing most voters knew for sure about Kathleen Brown was that she was not Pete Wilson. Ultimately, that was not enough.

While Brown was self-destructing, Wilson was running the campaign of his career. Although he consistently remained unpopular when measured in the abstract, the governor's handlers successfully made the election a referendum on Brown. No mistake was too slight to warrant a response. No ministerial task was too trivial not to be turned to the campaign's advantage. On those rare occasions when Brown's scattershot campaign scored a hit, Wilson's emergency spin patrol was there to quickly bind up the wound. When Wilson told a reporter that Proposition 187 might require that Californians carry an ID card to prove citizenship, the campaign was in print with a lengthy "clarification" within hours.

"It was a textbook race," says Republican campaign consultant Wayne Johnson. "I don't think any professional can look at the job they did and do anything besides tip your hat to them."

Wilson's campaign was particularly effective in its emphasis on the hot-button issues of crime and immigration. Wilson used illegal immigration as a means of turning the state's economic troubles to his advantage. His spots showed shadowy black-and-white video of illegals crossing the border, with a tag line right out of a '50s horror movie: "They keep coming..." He loudly proclaimed his support for Proposition 187, even including a plug for its passage in some late television commercials. The message was clear: on the economy, don't blame me, blame *them*.

Wilson was equally relentless and calculating on the issue of crime. When he finally did hit the campaign trail, Wilson was scarcely seen without the company of cops, crime victims, or border guards. Although he may have been trying to sound macho, however, Wilson did not alienate

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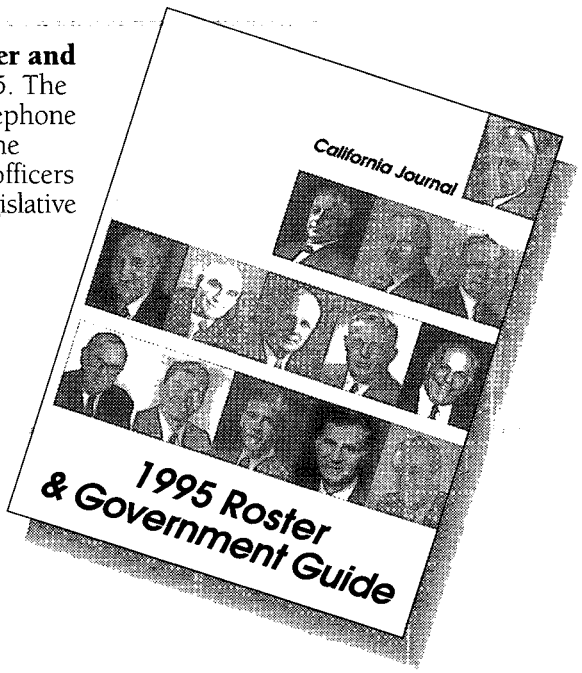

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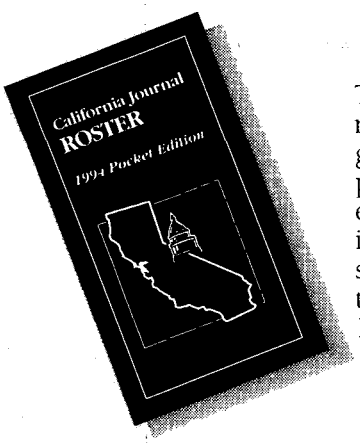

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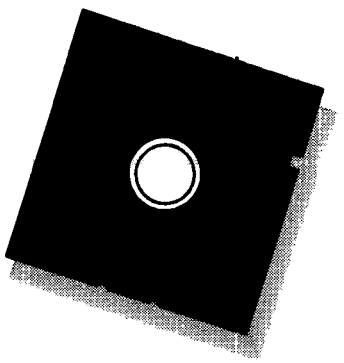

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California Journal
Independent analysis of politics and government

women voters, whom some polls showed slightly favoring him over Brown. "Pete has a good history with women, so he didn't lose a lot because there's a woman in the race," said GOP consultant Eileen Padberg. "Kathleen would have gotten a lot more women had Wilson not had a record on [women's] issues."

"Wilson did a better job of defining two flashpoint issues — crime and immigration," concedes Democratic consultant David Townsend. "Kathleen Brown had no issue that was definitive about what she is."

The campaign was the most expensive in the history of gubernatorial politics. By the time all the tallies are complete, the race will have chewed through more than $50 million. For his money, Wilson earned another four years as governor—a dubious prize considering the state's fiscal health—and instant speculation about possible national ambitions. For her efforts, Brown has earned a less coveted fate: the distinction of having blown her party's best chance in a decade to take control of the state's executive branch.

Considering that a year ago, most thought those positions would be reversed, one can excuse the governor for gloating just a little

— Steve Scott

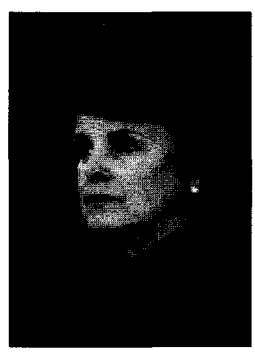
U.S. Senate

Feinstein (D)*	**3,608,497**	**(47)**
Huffington (R)	3,484,887	(45)
Meeuwenberg (AI)	131,033	(2)
Blong (G)	127,807	(2)
Boddie (L)	164,140	(2)
Barron (PF)	231,110	(3)

It had to happen. The campaign that had poisoned the airwaves, uncensored and undiluted, day and night for months — the one campaign that nearly every Californian wanted to see run over by a truck; that begged for a stake through its heart; that gave new meaning to the word "excess;" the most squalid, invective-filled, mud-splattered dismal excuse for a political campaign — did not end on Election Day. When a fitful, rainy dawn broke over California on November 9th, the $45-million struggle for the U.S. Senate was unresolved.

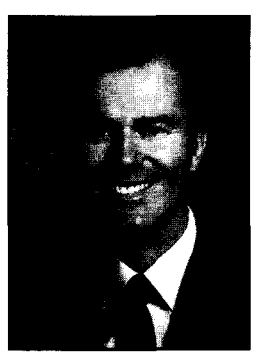
Incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein finished November 8th 123,610 votes ahead of her Republican challenger, Santa Barbara Congressman Michael Huffington, with 702,000 absentee ballots yet to be counted — those dropped off at polling places on Election Day. As a result, Huffington refused to concede, refused to give in, saying it would be "irresponsible" to declare a winner in the race. Feinstein, too, would not accept the laurel, despite her filament-thin lead. Meanwhile, the Secretary of State's office warned that the final tally would not be available for up to two weeks, depending on how fast the affected counties can shuffle through the ballots. For Huffington to overtake Feinstein, nearly 60 percent of those ballots had to cut his way. After a week of counting, Feinstein's lead had expanded to over 150,00 votes, and the pool of uncounted ballots had shrunk to 303,000 — meaning the GOP contender had to capture 75 percent of the uncounted ballots.

Although Huffington expressed confidence that he could attain the necessary votes to stagger across the tape, the odds seemed impossible. The Feinstein camp, on the other hand, said the election was sewed up. "There is no way the math is there for him," said Feinstein campaign chairman Dwyane Garrett. "Even if [outstanding absentees] went like pre-election absentees, which we lost 52 [percent] to 40 [percent], and even if the maximum number of votes are still out there, he can't pull it out. Besides, historically, leftover absentees tend to break as did the day," a precedent that favors Feinstein.



Feinstein

And over it all hung the specter of a recount, although many observers discounted the possibility. "I can't see a recount unless one side or the other is within 10,000 votes," said Republican consultant Steve Merksamer, former chief of staff to Governor George Deukmejian. "Recounts generally valdiate the outcome. The fact is that the election process is clean and done in a professional way. It's possible to have a few thousand mistakes, but not likely to have more than that."



Huffington

Recounts, especially statewide, can be enormously expensive because the side that asks for it must front the cost and is reimbursed only if the election is reversed. If the result is confirmed by the recount, the petitioner is out his or her money — which can amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars. The risk of losing a huge sum of cash, for instance, caused Democrat Arlo Smith to forgo a recount in his 13,000-vote loss to Republican Dan Lungren in the 1990 race for attorney general.

Money, of course, is no object to Huffington, who sank an estimated half of his personal fortune in an effort to win the seat. "When you've already invested $30 million ... what's a few more million dollars?" wondered Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political scientist at the Claremont School of Government. "Most candidates don't do recounts because it's too costly, but that doesn't figure in this race."

The tortured campaign path that led to this virtual dead heat began two years ago when Feinstein soundly defeated Republican John Seymour, who had been appointed to the office by the man who vacated it — Governor Pete Wilson (see *CJ*, December 1992). But Feinstein was elected only to

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fill out the remainder of Wilson's original term, which ended this year. To win a six-year term, she had to stand for re-election in 1994.

At the outset, that re-election seemed cooked to well done. After a narrow loss to Wilson in the 1990 gubernatorial race and an impressive victory over Seymour, the former San Francisco mayor was one of the most recognizable, and arguably popular, politicians in California. In addition, congressional Democrats seemed to go out of their way to showcase Feinstein, giving her an appointment to the influential Appropriations Committee and allowing her to take key roles in passing high-profile legislation, such as the Brady gun-control bill and the president's crime package. She also was able to ram through legislation creating a new national park in the Southern California desert, a feat that had eluded her most recent Democratic predecessor — Alan Cranston. As a result, few Republicans seemed eager to get into the ring.

Enter Michael Huffington. Huffington's congressional odyssey, like Feinstein's, began in 1992 when he threw his wallet into the ring for a House seat from Santa Barbara. A native of Texas who had moved to California in 1991, Huffington was the scion of a wealthy oil magnate, and his personal fortune was estimated at close to $70 million — with more on ice to be inherited from his father. To win his congressional seat, Huffington spent $5 million of his own money, more than enough to shoulder aside longtime incumbent Bob Lagomarsino in a bitter GOP primary.

Almost immediately, Huffington cast his eye toward Feinstein's Senate seat. At first, the challenge seemed quixotic. Possessed of little political experience and no legislative accomplishments, Huffington seemed like easy fodder for a Democratic incumbent who enjoyed a 63-percent approval rating in polls. But this Quixote brandished an enormous lance for his tilts with windmills — his bank account.

Feinstein took it easy during the spring, as she had no real primary challenge. In addition, she seemed to pay scant attention to the storm cloud forming on the right. Huffington, on the other hand, used that time to introduce himself to California with a series of warm and fuzzy television ads that promoted his "middle-class" upbringing and touted William Bennett's "Book of Virtues." He ignored his primary opponent, the arch-right wing former Congressman Bill Dannemeyer, focusing instead on positive messages that sought to allay fears that he was nothing more than a rich boy trying to buy a Senate seat. He easily defeated Dannemeyer, carrying all but one of the state's 58 counties. That one county, however, was Huffington's own — Santa Barbara — where residual resentment over his thumping of Lagomarsino and his too-quick announcement for the Senate had poisoned his well.

The clash between Feinstein and Huffington offered California voters a well-defined choice between a conservative who sought to limit the size and scope of government and an experienced public official who thought government had a role in society. But the campaign never reached philosopical heights. Once the primary ended, the campaign went negative, sank into the gutter — and stayed there.

In reality, Huffington had no choice but to go negative. Politically, the incumbent was a lion; Huffington, a mouse. To have any chance at all, the Republican nominee had to cut Feinstein down to size. To accomplish this, he amassed a formidable campaign team, led by Ken Khachigian and featuring the likes of Larry McCarthy (of "Willie Horton" fame) and Ed Rollins (most recently, of vote-suppressing Christine Whitman fame). Since he had virtually no record of his own, the assignment was to demolish hers.

"He ran the only campaign he could have run," said veteran Democratic campaign consultant Joe Cerrell, referring to the negative tone that permeated Huffington's campaign the moment he turned his attention to Feinstein.

"He had to go negative to bring down her positives," said Merksamer. "He had no recourse to be competitive."

The strategy paid off, as Feinstein's people acknowledged. "Had we done what we liked — run a positive campaign — we would have been left in the dust," said Garrett.

In a campaign waged on television and on radio, Huffington clawed at Feinstein's record, ignoring her moderate philosophy and painting her as another "tax and spend" liberal. Feinstein, on the other hand, focused on Huffington's Texas roots. After Labor Day, Feinstein's campaign effort was helped by a rash of stories about Huffington and his wife — Arianna Stassinopolis Huffington — most of them highly unflattering. One of the most scathing appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, usually a friend to Republican candidates. The *Journal* detailed Huffington's business record while an officer in his father's oil company — Huffco. It reported, for instance, that the company had been fined for selling illegal weapons to Singapore, and that it had owned a California subsidiary that went bankrupt while owing the state a multimillion dollar tax bill. The Huffingtons also were pilloried in *Vanity Fair*, *Time*, *The New Yorker* and in a host of newspaper stories. The couple even was lampooned in Gary Trudeau's "Doonesbury" cartoon strip.

Huffington blamed the Feinstein camp, which denied it had planted the stories. Huffington himself seemed particularly incensed that his wife, who formerly had been involved with a California religious cult led by John-Roger, had become a focal point, and he complained about it to Feinstein in the only face-to-face meeting of the campaign — a joint appearance on CNN's "Larry King Live" in mid-October.

Meanwhile, the tenor of the campaign became more bitter and more personal. After complaining that Feinstein had dragged his wife into the fray, Huffington proceeded to do the same to Feinstein's husband — San Francisco financier Richard Blum — accusing the couple of profiteering from her Senate votes. With the financial wherewithall to produce hard-hitting ads overnight, Huffington kept Feinstein on the defensive. And her stature eroded, drip by drip, television ad by television ad, all through October.

Huffington's campaign, meanwhile, kept the candidate remote from the public, and especially from political reporters. His appearances were limited to friendly audiences and an omnipresent television blitz that kept him on the airwaves consistently throughout the month of October and all the way through Election Day. The strategy worked to perfection, as the Republican challenger's steady climb in the polls matched the erosion besetting Feinstein's popularity. With two weeks left before the election, Huffington had drawn nearly even with Feinstein — and the momentum was all his.

But Huffington's carefully orchestrated effort unraveled during the final two weeks over what became known as "nannygate." The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Huffington, a staunch supporter of Proposition 187 (see page 20), had employed an illegal immigrant as a nanny for his two children. When first confronted with the story, Huffington lied — he

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denied it. Faced with the evidence, he blamed his wife.

At that point, "nannygate" overwhelmed the campaign. The Huffington campaign, especially, seemed gripped with fax hysteria as "nannygate" revelations killed its momentum. The Feinstein camp, of course, was quick to exploit the situation, while proclaiming that its candidate had never hired anyone illegally. A week later, however, Feinstein, too, became embroiled in a controversy over the legal status of a Guatemalan woman she had employed while mayor of San Francisco. Huffington seized upon the controversy to declare, in a spate of TV spots created overnight: "She lied!" The Feinstein camp was so incensed over these ditties that it threatened to sue any television stations that ran them without a disclaimer. But in a stroke of fortune for Feinstein, the impact of her "nanny" problem was softened because the story broke on the same day that a South Carolina mother confessed to murdering her two children.

Over the final week, Feinstein's media assault hit at Huffington's "nannygate" problem and reprised the old vilification of her opponent as a "Texas oil millionaire." Huffington, meanwhile, built his last set of attack ads around the general theme: "Liar, liar, pants on fire," as both camps seemed to go into meltdown.

Voter turnout was expected to determine the outcome, with a large numbers favoring Feinstein. But Election Day proved disappointing to her campaign, and the relatively modest turnout was blamed for the confusion and uncertainty plaguing the outcome. Although statewide predictions ran in excess of 60 percent turnout, the actual number ended up several points lower. Also, an expected, higher-than-usual Latino vote, focused on defeating Proposition 187 and electing Democrat Art Torres as insurance commissioner, fizzled. It was assumed that a Latino surge would have favored Feinstein.

Meanwhile, some observers suggested that money Huffington had invested in county GOP operations paid off with a stronger Republican get-out-the-vote effort. The Republican, however, suffered from having no natural base outside of his Santa Barbara congressional district, and like in the primary, that constituency voted for Feinstein. Statewide, Feinstein scored best in urban Los Angeles and San Francisco, while Huffington carried the north state, Central Valley, Inland Empire and Orange and San Diego counties. Feinstein, echoing the performance of Bill Dannemeyer, also captured Huffington's home county of Santa Barbara.

Left unresolved at the end were two issues: the winner, which most likely will be Feinstein once the election is certified early in December; and the notion of whether a candidate with nothing else to recomend him but a bank account can win a seat in the U.S. Senate. Given Huffington's whisker-thin loss, the jury still is out on that question.

— A.G. Block

Lieutenant Governor

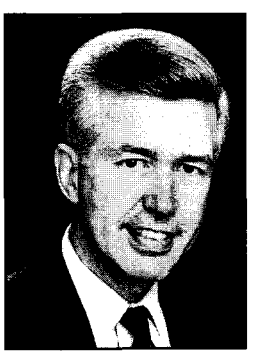
Davis (D)	**4,039,176**	**(53)**
Wright (R)	3,100,628	(40)
Lewis (AI)	85,778	(1)
Moses (G)	145,939	(2)
New (L)	165,850	(2)
Gomez (PF)	170,480	(2)

Gray Davis is one of the few happy Democrats left in the country. Running against a tide moving overwhelmingly to the right, the state controller captured the lieutenant governor's nob with a decisive 12-point victory over conservative state Senator Cathie Wright (R-Simi Valley). Wright, who had a free ride, now returns to the Senate.

"People knew me as a problem-solver," Davis said after returns were in. GOP attempts to paint him as a soft-on-crime liberal were forestalled by endorsements from every major law-enforcement organization and unswerving attention to the economy, he said. "I told voters that I had both feet planted squarely on the ground."

Davis' win was not unexpected. A November 2nd Field Poll showed the Democrat with a 25-point lead over Wright among likely voters, with 29 percent of the voters still undecided. He had started the race with high name recognition, stemming from 20 years in public life. A former chief of staff to Governor Jerry Brown in the 1970s, Davis subsequently won a seat in the Assembly and the job of controller in 1986 and 1990. He also waged a high-profile race for the U.S. Senate in 1992, losing the primary to Dianne Feinstein. During the course of that campaign, he angered Democrats by running a savage television ad comparing Feinstein to convicted hotelier Leona Helmsley. Davis also had a huge money advantage. Known as the "Sultan of Swag" for most of his political career, Davis is a prodigious fund raiser who entered the final month of the campaign with well over $2 million on hand, compared to Wright's $10,000.

These millions turned directly into television advertisements. Davis' campaign reported spending $2.1 million on network and cable commercials distributed through every major media market in the state. The Democrat ran two major network spots, one featuring Davis himself, touting his accomplishments as controller; the other blasting his opponent for "being out of sync" with



Davis

Wright

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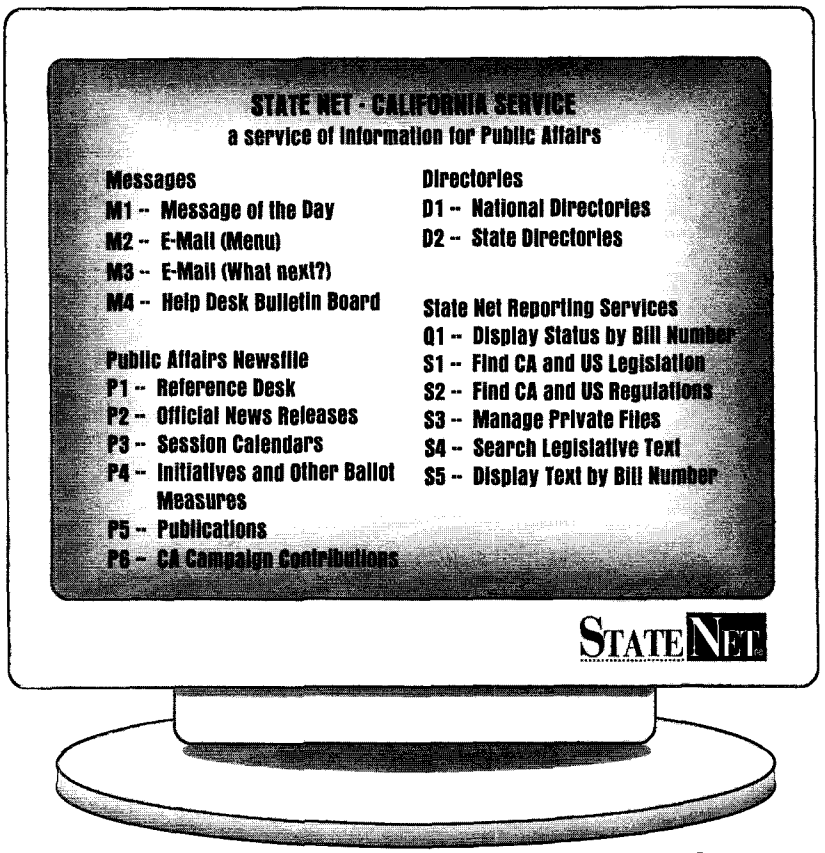
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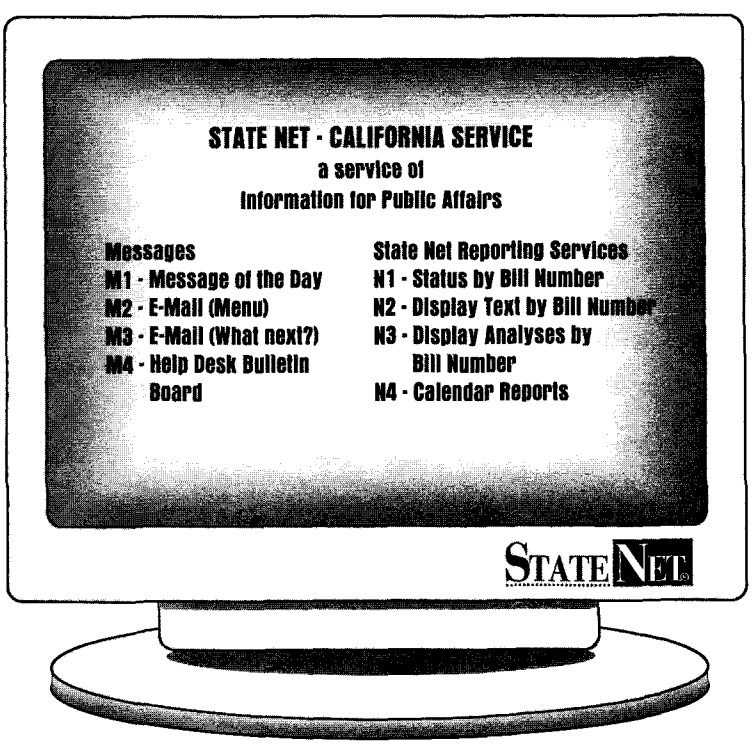
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California voters on gun control, smoking and choice issues. Wright, on the other hand, bought into a "Decision '94" group advertisement, featuring several other Republican candidates, but each ad gave her only a few seconds to speak. The Republican also was featured by name on a heavy-rotation Wilson ad, but this served more to boost her low name recognition than to effectively explain her candidacy.

Behind the television screens the candidates were trading cleverly titled booklets, each detailing the other's flaws. Davis's efforts collected a sheaf of legislative votes on which "Wright is Wrong." Wright's "Gray's Anatomy" contained page after page of anecdotes showing her opponent to be an unethical liberal who continued to follow in the footsteps of his former boss, Jerry Brown.

The Democrat's victory of nearly one million votes was concentrated in the populous urban areas of the state. Wright carried Orange County and a long list of smaller counties, but this was not enough to bring her within striking range of her opponent.

Davis' election poses something of a problem for Governor Pete Wilson, whose stunning recovery from a near-death standing in polls late last year has propelled him into the middle of speculation over the 1996 GOP presidential nomination. *President* Pete Wilson would have to turn the state over to *Governor* Gray Davis. The thought that Davis could become governor by default probably doesn't sit well with other Republicans. For that matter, there are probably a few Democrats who don't like the idea, either.

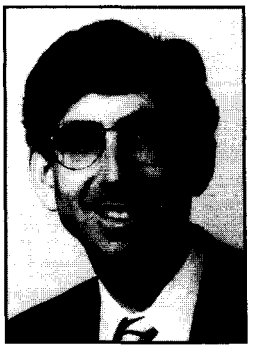
— John Borland

Treasurer

Angelides (D)	3,171,317	(43)
Fong (R)	**3,608,505**	**(48)**
McCoy (AI)	189,512	(3)
Petersen (L)	308,337	(4)
Tucker (P)	166,635	(2)

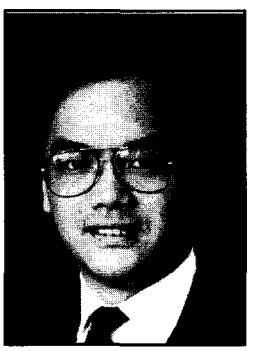
Webster's Dictionary defines a Pyrrhic victory as one achieved at "excessive cost." The campaign for state treasurer is a tale of not one, but two Pyrrhic victories that ultimately spelled doom for the Democrats and success for Republican Board of Equalization member Matt Fong.

The first costly victory for Democrats was won by former Senate President pro Tem David Roberti. With term limits staring him in the face, Roberti shopped around for offices before landing on state treasurer as the one for which he wanted to shoot. Also landing on that square after a shopping trip was former state Democratic Party chair Phil Angelides. Angelides had built a sizeable campaign war chest, tapping Democratic and Greek-American contributors for what was initially to have been a run for lieutenant governor. Roberti figured to lag in fund raising anyway, but his task became monumentally more complicated when pro-gun forces organized a recall campaign against him in his state Senate district. Roberti beat the recall, but the cost—more than $800,000 — left him with only pennies to mount a campaign against the well-heeled Angelides.



Angelides

Despite his wealth, Angelides faced the problem of building name recognition against the better-known Roberti. Once the recall campaign was over, Angelides lit out after Roberti, targeting his stewardship of the Senate during a time where three key Democrats were convicted on corruption charges. The turning point for Angelides came with two television spots. One suggested Roberti bore culpability for the corruption that took place under his watch — a tough hit but, by most reckonings, reasonably on point. The second, however, was far more controversial. The spot showed scenes of the funeral of a murdered Pensacola doctor who performed abortions, cutting to an unflattering picture of Roberti. The text unsubtly implied Roberti, a Roman Catholic who opposes abortion, somehow sanctioned the murder.



Fong

The spot drew an angry response from Democratic insiders with one of his predecessors as state party chair labeling it "disgusting." The spot also made many Democratic voters uncomfortable and was almost universally excoriated in newspaper editorials as the sleaziest ad of the campaign. Roberti, however, had no money with which to respond, and with abortion an issue in a Democratic primary, Angelides shot past him in the polls and won the primary. Angelides continued to defend the spot, insisting it simply pointed up Roberti's abstention from non-binding resolutions concerning the protection of abortion clinics.

Sitting back and watching all these intrigues was Fong, who was uncontested in the Republican primary. The son of Democratic former Secretary of State March Fong Eu, the 40-year-old Fong had built a substantial fund-raising base in the Asian community and had earned his GOP spurs with a credible, though unsuccessful, run for state controller in 1990. His resume looked strong for a Republican, with experience in business, finance and government. His mother's cross-party popularity didn't hurt him either.

Fong remained just visible enough during the primary, releasing a list of boilerplate fiscal reforms he called his "Taxpayer Protection Plan." He even borrowed a page from the Jerry Brown presidential run in 1992 by setting up an 800-number to call for copies of the plan.

While they made it clear they would have preferred to run against an old-line pol like Roberti, Fong's campaign team saw an opportunity to position their man as the good guy running against a dirty campaigner. In the early stages of the race, each tried to paint the other as a practitioner of "politics as usual." Angelides touted his experience as a Sacramento-area developer, portraying himself as a businessman running against an appointed career politician. Fong played up his own early business experience and his service on the Board of Equalization, insisting his back-

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ground was better suited to the financial demands of the treasurer's job.

When the campaign commenced in earnest, Angelides began aiming his guns at Fong. He accused Fong of breaking a pledge by taking campaign contributions from interests that do business with the Board of Equalization. Fong was also attacked for playing golf on state time and of puffing up his business experience. Fong responded not by attacking Angelides directly, but rather by attacking his campaign. He accused the former state party chair of being a "sleaze merchant." In one televised debate, Fong suggested Angelides' minions were snooping around, trying to find out what kinds of videos he rents.

The attacks hit television in the last week of the race. In addition to a positive spot touting his business experience, Angelides was also on the air with a commercial accusing Fong of taking too many state perks and overspending as a member of the state Board of Equalization. Fong responded with an amusing spot showing a person in a rain slicker being showered with mud. The spot quoted extensively from editorials assailing Angelides' primary campaign against Roberti, with an emphasis on the abortion spot.

The Fong ad reminded voters, including many Democrats, of the harshness of the primary and played to voter distaste for campaigns that step across the line. When the votes were tallied, Angelides got the second-lowest vote total of any Democrat running for statewide office. The only statewide Democrat who did worse was attorney general candidate Tom Umberg, who was running against a popular incumbent and who had to answer for his own dirty campaign commercial. Fong's victory was hardly earth-shattering — a 9 percent minor party vote kept him under 50 percent. Still, Angelides' defeat and that of Umberg suggest voters may have some internal circuit breakers that can trip when a campaign gets too muddy. If so, Angelides' primary win would count as the campaign's second Pyrrhic victory — a case where winning the battle may have cost him the war.

— Steve Scott

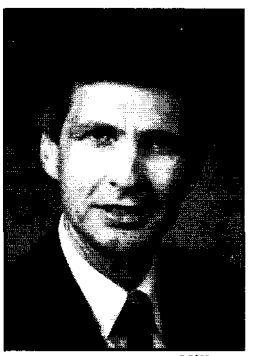
Secretary of State

Miller (D)	3,349,993	(45)
Jones (R)	**3,393,835**	**(45)**
Robbins (AI)	140,202	(2)
Garcia (G)	289,302	(4)
Christensen (L)	228,893	(3)
Feuer (PF)	91,611	(1)

The Republican tide of 1994 brought to an end the 24-year Democratic reign in the Secretary of State's Office. Newly elected Republican Bill Jones, a former assemblyman from Fresno, ran an aggressive campaign more typical of a top-of-ticket office than for elections' chief. In defeat, Democrat Tony Miller, the acting secretary of state, was unable to make history as the state's first openly gay major party candidate to win statewide office. He had been with the office for 18 years, as a top aide to former Secretary of State March Fong Eu and as acting secretary after Eu left for an ambassadorship in 1993.

Jones

Miller's campaign took such a low profile that it was almost non-existent, an approach his campaign people early on attributed to tight finances. Jones did outspend his opponent, but he also had a couple of weighty aces in his pocket. As co-author of the three-strikes law, he positioned himself as a tough-on-crime candidate, parlayed that into his run for elections cop and gained appeal and recognition among crime-sensitive voters. Jones also was a strong supporter of the anti-illegal immigration initiative, Proposition 187.



Miller

In a race where 42 percent of voters were undecided down to the end, Miller may have relied too heavily on his incumbent-sounding ballot designation, "acting secretary state." He also had only a small radio buy in the Central Valley, where he ran one positive spot touting his own record and one negative spot calling Jones a "hypocrite," while Jones was on television and radio throughout the state with mostly positive image spots. Jones also received some critical party support that allowed him to stay on the air and gain the exposure he needed to claim the post.

— Nancy H. Martis

Controller

Connell (D)	**3,622,624**	**(48)**
McClintock (R)	3,453,109	(46)
Johnson (AI)	140,669	(2)
Lang (L)	118,724	(2)
Nakano (P)	166,635	(2)

The only real contact most voters have with the state controller comes when they read his or her name at the bottom of their tax refund. Essentially, the controller signs the state's checks, keeps tabs on the books, and sits on 52 boards and commissions. While it sounds like a budget wonk's dream, the controller's job has actually been something of a political steppingstone, having helped the career paths of two U.S. senators (Thomas Kuchel and Alan Cranston). In the end, it was the outsider who won, but only barely, and only after upsetting some strong insiders.

Kathleen Connell, who will be the first woman to serve as state controller, took a contentious Democratic primary mostly because she was willing to spend her own money. Connell entered the primary as an underdog against two experienced political hands — Alameda County Supervisor

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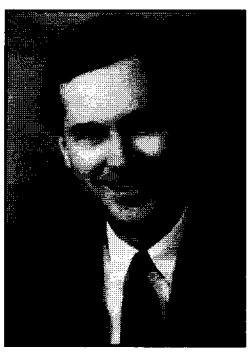
Don Perata and Salinas Assemblyman Rusty Arieas. When it came down to the actual race, however, Connell proved the savvier politician. She husbanded her money until the end, then struck with a heavy television buy emphasizing her business background. Perata and Arieas couldn't match her television, nor could they match her advantage as the only woman running against two men.

Connell

In the general election, Connell faced what many believed would be a fairly easy target. Former Thousand Oaks Assemblyman Tom McClintock had earned a reputation as a fiercely conservative, confrontational legislator. He had lost his bid for Congress two years earlier precisely because he was so conservative. In the Republican primary, however, conservative was in, and his ballot designation — taxpayer advocate — helped him past the better-funded John Morris, the heir to the Mervyn's retail fortune. McClintock's independence cost him some key support that usually goes to Republican candidates, most notably that of the prison guards' union, which backed Connell.


McClintock

McClintock made the race far more than just interesting; he also made it entertaining. Facing an opponent who would likely outspend him, McClintock's campaign tried to break through the din with humor. He unleashed a series of radio commercials featuring a fictional cousin, "Angus McClintock," who touted Tom's tight-fistedness. "He's tighter than a bullfrog's behind," crowed Angus in one spot.

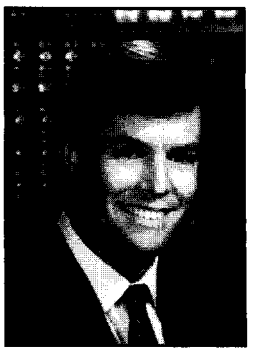
Angus eventually made it to television late in the race, but his rotation was no match for Connell's who again squirreled away enough for a substantial television buy at the end. McClintock's closeness in the race is partially attributable to the Republican tide and partially the result of his unusual campaign. Still, Connell showed just how far money can take any candidate if it's spent wisely.

— Steve Scott

Insurance Commissioner

Torres (D)	3,247,245	(43)
Quackenbush (R)	**3,652,875**	**(49)**
Jacques (AI)	133,387	(2)
Brown (L)	315,827	(4)
Condit (PF)	137,799	(2)

So much for the conventional wisdom. When the post of insurance commissioner was first created by passage of Proposition 103 in 1988, it was thought that a Democrat would always have the edge in an election for the job. After all, it was the Democrats who had a reputation for fighting for consumers' rights, while Republicans were generally seen as too friendly to business — including the huge, multi-billion dollar insurance industry. And in fact, the first election for the job in 1990 seemed to prove the point when Democrat John Garamendi received the nod. Voters seemed to be looking for someone who could stand up to the industry.


Quakenbush

But 1994 was a very different year, and voters were in a different kind of mood. They brushed aside fears that the insurance industry itself would control the post by electing Republican Assemblyman Chuck Quackenbush, despite the fact that his campaign was bankrolled with over $2 million by the insurance industry. Quackenbush easily outpaced Democratic Senator Art Torres, who as chairman of the Senate Insurance Committee had built just the kind of industry-bashing reputation that should have appealed to consumers. Unlike Quackenbush, Torres refused contributions from insurers, although he accepted money from attorneys who also earn their livings from insurance-related cases.

Torres

Torres seemed a natural fit for the job. Earlier this year, the mediagenic Los Angeleno had gained a modicum of national media attention by proposing that drivers pay for their auto insurance when they buy gas — known as "pay at the pump." He also used his committee chairmanship to badger the industry to rebate money to consumers as mandated by Proposition 103.

Quackenbush, on the other hand, had been something of a back-bencher during his four terms in the Assembly, a moderate from Cupertino who often seemed out of step with conservatives in his own caucus. Unlike Torres, who seemed ready to follow Garamendi's original plege to be the industry's worst nightmare, Quackenbush ran on a platform of promoting competition in the industry. He also had no direct experience with insurance issues. Before the end of the campaign, Quackenbush had collected over $2 million in donations from the industry while constantly assuring voters that the donations wouldn't influence his decisions.

Torres tried to capitalize on his opponent's funding with a brief television campaign that focused on his own pro-consumer history, labeling Quackenbush "the insurance company guy." Quackenbush, ignoring insurance issues for the most part, hit at Torres' record on crime. He also attacked Torres' alleged use of campaign funds to take his two children on vacations.

Polls showed the two in a virtual dead heat throughout the campaign, and right up until Election Day. Analysts have suggested, however, that Torres was hurt by two factors: a Republican surge that reached into nearly every corner of the ticket, and an apparent failure of many Latinos to vote.

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The Latino vote, especially, hurt Torres, who stood to be the first Latino in this century to be elected to a statewide office. His candidacy, plus the presence on the ballot of Proposition 187, the anti-immigration initiative, was expected to energize the Latino community and give Hispanics a tangible reason to vote. But apparently, it did not happen. In fact, Torres may have been hurt by an Anglo backlash directed mostly at Proposition 187 but also damaging to any candidate with an Hispanic surname.

In the end, Torres won in the Bay Area, Santa Cruz and his native Los Angeles, while losing in nearly every other section of the state — a pattern that followed most statewide results. Quackenbush, meanwhile, scored huge wins in Orange County, San Diego and the Central Valley.

— Kirsten Mangold

Superintendent of Public Instruction

DiMarco (NP)	2,840,798	(44)
Eastin (NP)	**3,546,475**	**(56)**

Come January, the first elected superintendent of public instruction since Bill Honig — and the first woman to ever hold the state's only nonpartisan constitutional office — will move into her new office in Sacramento's six-story Department of Education building. Voters have chosen Delaine Eastin, a four-term assemblywoman from Fremont, to take the wheel and turn California schools in a new direction.

This race could have been over in the June primary if one of the candidates had captured more than 50 percent of the vote. But there was no way that one of the contenders was going to emerge from a slate of 12, each with a unique platform and background. The favored candidates were Maureen DiMarco, a Democrat who has been Republican Governor Pete Wilson's secretary of child development and education since 1991; Joseph Carrabino, conservative Republican and former member and chairman of the state Board of Education who also pushed for the failed school voucher initiative last year; and Eastin, a Democrat and the chairwoman of Assembly Education. Eastin and DiMarco, who captured 14 and 22 percent of the primary vote respectively, were set to face off in the general.

Unlike races for nearly every other office, the contest for superintendent never got nasty, and both campaigns more or less tried to stick to the issues and away from mudslinging. As a result, the race remained low on the horizon for much of the campaign season. For instance, a Field Poll taken released just a few days before the election showed that neither DiMarco nor Eastin had yet cracked 30 percent, with the vast majority of voters still undecided — this despite the fact that the two candidates met head-to-head in a number of locally televised debates and before a number of forums.

DiMarco

Both candidates had limited budgets to help overcome voter apathy and be heard above the ceaseless din created by campaigns for governor and U.S. senator. Eastin had the biggest campaign treasury, helped by support from both the Democratic Party and the California Teachers Association. Thus, she was able to mount a last-week, two-ad media blitz that may have made the most lasting impression in the minds of voters. One of the ads called attention to Eastin's working-class background; the other lamented the vast amount of money the state spends on prisons as opposed to the peanuts spent on schools.

Eastin

DiMarco, on the other hand, did not have the money to finance her own commercials and had to rely on a joint spot with several Republican candidates for office. Those spots were in rotation before Eastin's commercials, but Eastin's were far more visible in the crucial last days of the campaign. Those commercials, and the various debates that were only halfheartedly covered by the media, were the voters' only public exposure to the candidates. Even the debates didn't help define the differences between the two, as it quickly became apparent that they agreed on most of the issues, from vouchers to charter schools to youth violence.

Behind the scenes, though, Eastin went the extra mile to reach out to the voters. According to her campaign manager, Loretta Lynch, Eastin's supporters created a grass-roots "post-card campaign," where each person sent out batches of postcards to their friends. Lynch estimated that over 200,000 postcards were mailed.

The position of state schools chief has been filled by appointed Superintendent Dave Dawson since the conviction of previous Superintendent Bill Honig on conflict of interest charges in 1992. Eastin brings with her eight years of legislative experience, including time spent as the head of Assembly Education. She is married; though she has no children, she says that she considers the state's five-and-a-half million children to be "her own."

Eastin's critics — and DiMarco's supporters — say they question the new superintendent's ability to balance her job as a nonpartisan quarterback for schools with her ties to the Democratic Party and the CTA. Eastin has countered that she will be beholden to no one, and points to her "no" votes on several education bills supported by the CTA.

Ironically, Wilson's re-election means that the public — and Eastin — has not seen the last of Maureen DiMarco. DiMarco likely will keep her job in Wilson's Cabinet and thus continue to have influence over the same issues as the new School's Chief.

— Kirsten Mangold

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Attorney General

Umberg (D)	2,9566,679	(39)
Lungren (R)*	**4,042,881**	**(54)**
Burns (L)	251,545	(3)
Evans (PF)	248,410	(3)

Lungren

Umberg

Attorney General Dan Lungren came up victorious in his re-election bid against Democratic challenger Assemblyman Tom Umberg, although his challenger managed to collect about 10 percent more votes than anticipated. Voters rejected efforts by Umberg to link the incumbent to the death of 12-year-old Polly Klaas.

Lungren had led in the polls during the entire campaign by a comfortable margin — 23 points in early October — although the campaign itself was anything but comfortable. The final weeks saw much action, and neither candidate could escape the shrapnel that fell like hail on both camps. Umberg's underdog status and lag in the polls all but forced him to go for the jugular. He ran television ads linking Lungren to the Klaas murder because the attorney general cut a criminal tracking computer system. The ads, called the sleaziest of the season, may have helped him gain some ground temporarily. The 30-second commercial, which aired throughout California duriung the final two weeks of the campaign, featured Polly's grandfather, 74-year-old Joe Klaas, placing flowers at the memorialized site where his granddaughter's body was found. He is wearing a tee-shirt emblazoned with the message, "Remember Polly. Dump Lungren."

But criticism against Umberg was loud and forceful, and many were disturbed by the use of a child's murder in a political campaign, not to mention a negative political ad. Lungren pledged earlier in the campaign to run only positive spots, a vow he made good on until the end.

Ultimately, though, it may have been the receipt of more than $800,000 from casino-operating Indian groups that bought Umberg's golden nail in the coffin. Lungren was quick to call the contributions "the biggest conflict of interest," and newspapers throughout the state editorialized disfavor at Umberg's acceptance of the money, particularly since the attorney general's office must regulate state gaming, and the law has yet to be handed down over the kinds of games Indian casinos can operate. A few major daily papers, including *The Sacramento Bee*, withdrew their endorsements of Umberg and instead gave the nod to Lungren.

On Election Night, Lungren had little time for celebration. He was seen less as a victorious candidate and more as the attorney general getting down to business. That posture was necessitated by the passage of the anti-illegal immigration Proposition 187, which he will have to defend immediately because lawsuits already were being filed against the new law within hours of its passage.

Umberg campaign manager George Urch attributed the loss to the intense U.S. Senate and governor's races, which prevented Umberg from getting the voter attention necessary to unseat a Republican incumbent. The fact that Lungren and others made an issue over the campaign contributions from Indian-gaming interests also had Urch scratching his head.

The campaign itself was distinguished on another front — the two candidates debated each other in a wide assortment of forums throughout the late summer and fall. And although they disagreed on few issues, the sessions gave voters a chance to see both Umberg and Lungren on the firing line.

— *Nancy H. Martis*

Propositions

181 (Rail Bond)

Yes	2,536,665	(35)
No	**4,751,488**	**(65)**

183 (Recall elections)

Yes	**4,799,498**	**(67)**
No	2,344,546	(33)

184 (Three strikes)

Yes	**5,381,627**	**(72)**
No	2,107,609	(28)

185 (PCL Gas Tax)

Yes	1,436,502	(19)
No	**5,984,485**	**(81)**

186 (Single-payer)

Yes	2,018,187	(27)
No	**5,562,790**	**(73)**

187 (Illegal Aliens)

Yes	**4,624,825**	**(59)**
No	3,197,409	(41)

188 (Smoking Regs)

Yes	2,284,431	(30)
No	**5,449,544**	**(71)**

189(No Bail, Crimes)

Yes	**5,791,206**	**(79)**
No	1,523,264	(21)

190 (Judges)

Yes	**4,326,942**	**(64)**
No	2,468,876	(36)

191 (Justice courts)

Yes	**4,011,457**	**(61)**
No	2,588,432	(39)

Proposition 187:

Every now and then, an initiative comes along that galvanizes the public to such an extent that it becomes the engine that drives an entire election. Proposition 13 (property tax relief) served that function back in 1978. So did Proposition 103 (auto-insurance reform) in 1988, and Proposition 140 (term limits) in 1990. This year, it was Proposition 187 — the initiative that denies educational, social and medical services to those who cannot prove American citizenship.

The flood of illegal immigrants, mostly from Latin America, has been blamed for many of the economic ills plaguing the state. Governor Pete Wilson helped to enflame the issue late

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last year when he sought to deflect criticism of his own administration and shift blame to illegals. His first ads, in fact, featured lurid scenes of illegals rushing across the southern border, then fanning out to disappear into the maw of California.

This early publicity helped build momentum for what became Proposition 187, which led by wide margins in statewide polls throughout much of the year. Support for it came mostly from Republicans, although it also was backed by Democrats such as Dwayne Garrett, a San Francisco talk show host and Dianne Feinstein's statewide campaign chairman. Feinstein herself opposed it, albiet tepidly. Gubernatorial hopeful Kathleen Brown, however, voiced early opposition and made that opposition the centerpiece of her late rush at Wilson. Legislative races, too, often turned on the fulcrum of 187.

In essence, the measure, nicknamed "save our state," denies non-emergency health care, public education and other social services to undocumented residents. On the surface, it seemed simple enough, and its perceived simplicity melded with the public's growing xenophobia over illegals to help build a 39-point lead in the polls. But as the campaign progressed, attention began to focus on the measure's complexities, both practical and philosophical. Teachers complained that such a law would turn them into "snitches," forced to expose students suspected as the children of illegals. Doctors and nurses echoed the same concerns. The government of Mexico expressed concern that the initiative harmed relations between the two countries. It was revealed that one of the authors, former INS commissioner Alan Nelson, was linked to group funded by a white supremacist organization that had helped fund the pro-187 campaign.

Then in October, opposition surfaced from an unlikely quarter — Republican presidential hopefuls Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett said the measure ran counter to conservative principles. Kemp, echoing the sentiments of an unlikely ally — state Senator Tom Hayden, worried openly about its racist overtones. Wilson during a newspaper interview suggested off-handedly that every citizen would have to carry some form of identification card should the measure pass. A state senator from Palm Springs implied that only Latinos would have to carry such a card. Reaction to these notions — which suggested the onset of a police state — was swift and negative.

Sensing that the public mood had turned, opposition began to emerge from the shadows, joining social and religious groups such as the Catholic Church. In addition, there were signs that the long-dormant Latino community was energizing in an effort to defeat what many in that community saw as a dangerous law aimed squarely at them. Brown began to hammer away at the proposition, for the first time finding a voice that evoked a passion of principle missing throughout most of her campaign. Anti-187 demonstrations, led by students and Latinos, hit the streets, gaining free publicity.

In response, Wilson incorporated pro-187 ads in his media campaign, in effect running a joint effort with the

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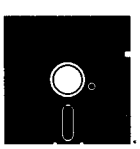

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initiative. At the same time, the governor seemed to back away from the actual provisions of the proposed law, saying instead that he supported it to "send a message" to the federal government and to force a lawsuit that would "once and for all" determine federal responsibility for paying for services given to illegals.

Still, as October faded into November, the initiative's once-commanding lead in polls continued to erode. As little as two days before the election, a Republican tracking poll showed the measure leading by two points — 48 percent to 46 percent.

But, oh, how those polls played viciously with the hopes of opponents. The measure's impressive victory evoked what some pundits call "the Bradley factor," a reference to a latent racist vote that sank the gubernatorial quest of former Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley against Republican George Deukmejian in 1982. In addition, the large turnout by Latino voters never materialized. And, in the final analysis, nobody cared what Jack Kemp or Bill Bennett thought about it.

Finally, while the rhetoric of the anti-187 campaign may have helped persuade many voters to its side, the actions of anti-187 demonstrators may have created an Anglo backlash. As Dwayne Garrett noted, the last thing the anti-187 forces needed was the image of a McDonald's franchise being trashed by anti-187 demonstrators in Mexico City on the day before the election.

Meanwhile, the victory may prove ephemeral, since legal analysts have warned that its provisions run counter to a 1982 Supreme Court decision in *Plyler v. Doe*, entitling undocumented children to a public education. Proponents are hopeful that the Supreme Court will overturn that decision, as the measure is already the subject of a number of court challenges. The California School Boards Association — along with plaintiffs San Francisco Unified, Los Angeles Unified and Sacramento City Unified School districts — filed a complaint against Wilson and the state in San Francisco Superior Court the morning after the election. Temporary restraining orders were issued, putting implementation on hold until the legal issues are sorted out.

— Nancy H. Martis and A.G. Block

Proposition 184:

Voters have officially sent the message to state leaders: Don't mess with the new "three-strikes-and-you're-out" law. By a huge margin, Californians approved Proposition 184, the measure reaffirming the identical law signed by Governor Pete Wilson earlier this year. The law is designed to put repeat felons away for life. With two serious or violent felonies, a third felony conviction will trigger a third strike, whether or not the third offense is violent. This provision has stirred much controversy, and at least one legislator, GOP Assemblyman Richard Rainey, is planning to introduce amending legislation to block a third strike from being triggered unless it is violent or unless a district attorney deems it serious enough to be a third strike.

The campaign over Proposition 184 was virtually nonexistent as an entity unto itself, although many candidates for constitutional and legislative office promoted it as part of their own campaigns. To oppose the measure, which enjoyed wide popularity in polls, was tantamount to suicide, so anti-184 forces gained no indirect support. Opponents tried to promote the notion that the new law will cost the state billions of dollars in added incarceration costs and claimed that evidence of problems with the law already are cropping up. In fact, some cases in which the third strike felony was nonviolent have been at the core of the "I told you so" debate. One incident involves a man with two prior felonies who received his third strike and life sentence for stealing a six-pack of beer. The Department of Corrections estimated that new prison costs over the next ten years will run about $20 billion. Approximately $200 million in expected additional operating costs offsets an anticipated savings of $100 million. But the logic of the anti-184 side never seeped through to voters fed up with crime and regarding tough sentencing laws a part of the solution.

Passage of the initiative was a victory for Fresno photographer Mike Reynolds, whose daughter had been shot to death in 1991 by a repeat offender and who championed the "three strikes" law passed last year by the Legislature. Momentum for its passage — and for the eventual success of Proposition 184 — also must be attributed to the kidnapping and murder of Petaluma 12-year-old Polly Klaas, which gave new life to then-dormant legislative efforts. Ironically, Klaas' father, Marc, opposed both this version of the law and the initiative.

Attorney General Dan Lungren in September gave the new three-strikes law credit for reportedly reducing the crime level, which Lungren's office says dropped 7.7 percent during the first six months of 1994. He also claimed that prisoners were talking up the law, something he says is a significant indicator of the deterrent factor.

— Nancy H. Martis

Propostions 181 and 185:

Voters were not in the mood to spend anything. Despite the efforts of the Planning and Conservation League, which sponsored Proposition 185, and Southern Pacific Railroad, which supported it financially up until the last few weeks of the campaign, voters were not convinced that a high-speed railway between Los Angeles and San Francisco would be worth an extra 4 percent tax on gasoline. It was defeated resoundingly, which was no surprise since it had been lagging in the polls for weeks. In fact, in mid-October, the chairman of Southern Pacific issued a letter stating that the company was aware of the measure's sinking popularity and would no longer be giving money to the campaign. They had already given nearly $500,000 and stood to reap more than $600 million if it had passed. Opponents accused the Planning and Conservation League of tailoring the measure to suit a special interest. Although PCL denied the charge, the damage was already done. Even without special-interest rumors, it is doubtful that the measure would have passed; the last thing anyone wanted to propose in 1994 was a tax increase.

Proposition 181, placed on the ballot by the Legislature, would have funded much the same set of priorities, but with proceeds from the sale of general-obligation bonds. It, too, went down to defeat.

— Kirsten Mangold

Proposition 186:

Refusing to admit defeat, proponents of the initiative that sought to establish a Canadian-style, single-payer health

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care system relished their 27 percent of the vote and said such a system will exist in California in "a matter of time." This despite the fact that voters overwhelmingly rejected the idea.

Californians for Health Security, "Yes on Proposition 186," attribute their loss to the financial power of the insurance industry, the greatest foe of the measure. It was an uphill battle for the "Yes" campaign, which raised about $2.5 million for its effort. Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover, the "No" effort, spent approximatley $10 million to defeat it. The opposition coalition was comprised of insurers, business, hospitals, taxpayers and others.

At one time, this initiative was expected to be the most high-profile, hotly debated measures on the ballot, particularly since it came on the heels of the national health reform defeat. But with so much noise over the anti-illegal immigration issue and from the senatorial and gubernatorial races, message delivery through all the clutter was an insurmountable challenge for 186 backers. But both campaigns tried to break through with ads rooted in fear. Proponents warned that "we're all at risk," citing the costs of health care and the threat the uninsured population is to the current system. Opponents, with the mood of the electorate on their side, honed in on one key provision: that the head of the single-payer system would be an elected politician, or "czar," as they dubbed it. In an era where a "less government is best" sentiment prevails, that notion, coupled with the promise of new taxes, rubbed already doubtful voters the wrong way and solidified their opposition.

The proposal would have eliminated the insurance middle-man, making the governement the single payer for all health care benefits. All residents would have been covered, including the current six million uninsured of the state's 32 million residents with benefits financed by income-tax increases, payroll taxes and a surcharge on cigarettes. Had the intitiative passed and the single-payer system put in place, a $75 billion system would have been created.

— Nancy H. Martis

Proposition 188:

The extent to which California has become a "no smoking" state is evidenced by the groups of smokers huddled under building eaves after being banished from indoors by any number of local ordinances. For the last five years, the state itself has been involved in a massive advertising campaign aimed at keeping people of all ages from lighting up. So it was not surprising that even in an election loudly proclaimed as a call for "less government," Californians endorsed governmental activism in the area of tobacco control by soundly defeating Proposition 188.

The initiative, which would have eliminated all local smoking ordinances, was born in the legislative smoking battles of 1993. Legislation that would have banned virtually all smoking in the workplace had somehow managed to pass both houses despite intense tobacco industry lobbying. So tobacco giant Philip Morris to begin circulating an initiative, touting it as one that actually gets tough on smoking. The measure was loaded up with seemingly reasonable restrictions on indoor smoking, access to cigarettes by minors, and advertising near schools. Each had its own set of loopholes rendering the entire package considerably weaker than almost every anti-smoking law in the state.

The real kicker, however, was the provision which made Proposition 188 the supreme law of the state regarding smoking. All other state and local smoking laws — including that passed by the Legislature — would be pre-empted by this new standard. Local pre-emption is a national strategy for the tobacco industry's lobbying efforts in statehouses, the idea being that it's easier to lobby one legislature than countless municipal and county governments. The possibility of getting it in California was all the inspiration Philip Morris needed to spend more than $1 million to get Proposition 188 on the November ballot. The signature-gathering campaign was unusual in its heavy emphasis on direct mail petition circulation, with Philip Morris' involvement listed only in the tiniest of fine print.

While Californians were generally considered anti-smoking, early polls showed Proposition 188 leading, suggesting voters were buying the idea that it was tough on smoking. Pro-188 forces began sending out expensive statewide mailers. The first included a letter explaining the involvement of Philip Morris. Bad choice. Poll numbers for the measure dropped 14 points as voters began questioning just how tough an anti-smoking law could be if it was sponsored by a tobacco company. Getting smart, supporters downplayed Philip Morris' involvement, opting instead to bill their measure as a reasonable compromise between smokers and non-smokers.

Opponents of Proposition 188, mainly the voluntary health organizations like the heart and lung associations and the American Cancer Society, knew their best argument against the initiative was the very fact that it was backed by a tobacco company. All they had to do was get the word out. That, however, proved to be easier said than done. In the past, the "voluntaries" had been able to count on financial help from the health and insurance industries in their campaigns, such as that for passage of 1988's tobacco-tax initiative, Proposition 99. This time, however, the hospitals and insurance companies were occupied with their campaign against Proposition 186, the single-payer health care initiative. The California Medical Association was not directly involved in the campaign against Proposition 186, but still only found a relatively modest $25,000 to donate to the campaign against Proposition 188.

While opponents were struggling for money, Philip Morris kept on spending, joined eventually by R.J. Reynolds, Brown and Williamson, and other tobacco companies. Staying away from television to avoid becoming part of the din, the campaign continued its reliance on direct mail. One mailer featured a photo of smiling children, suggesting that Proposition 188 would keep cigarettes away from kids. There were also targeted radio spots in support of 188, although opponents were able to get several stations to mention Philip Morris' support in their disclaimer. In all, Philip Morris put up more than $12.5 million, earning the record as the largest single contributor to any campaign.

Just when opponents appeared to be getting desperate, however, the cavalry arrived. After having dismissed the effort as a local campaign for much of the summer, the national headquarters of the voluntaries finally came in with some contributions of their own, as did the American Medical Association. The fresh cash enabled opponents to begin airing radio spots featuring former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop. The message was simple: Proposition 188 is sponsored by tobacco companies.

In the end, that was all voters needed to know. Late polls

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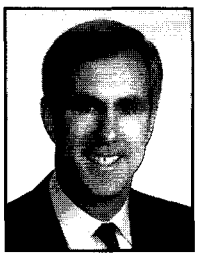
showed Proposition 188's lead had been reversed, and it turned into a rout. The defeat of Proposition 188 means that the tobacco industry may have missed its best opportunity to turn back the national trend toward tougher restrictions on smoking.

— *Steve Scott*

Board of Equalization

District 1 (54% D - 30% R)

Klehs(D)	**1,016,009**	**(51)**
Strawn (R)	817,121	(41)
Watson(L)	146,811	(7)


Klehs

Assemblyman Johan Klehs won an easy victory over Republican Robert Strawn in this solidly Democratic district, which stretches over most of Northern California. Despite a few strong endorsements of Strawn, including one by *The Sacramento Bee*, the GOP candidate couldn't match the money the six-term legislator was able to command. This seat now is filled for the first time since former incumbent William Bennett resigned for health reasons in 1993.

District 2 (46% D - 41% R)

Presley (D)	744,356	(39)
Andal (R)	**1,025,633**	**(54)**
Vance (AI)	128,139	(7)

Andal

Long-time state Senator Bob Presley had a public policy career few could match. He served for 20 years in Sacramento, an impressive record that was in all likelihood his ultimate downfall. Presley was bested in vote-getting for the District 2 seat by a relative newcomer to state politics, Assemblyman Dean Andal, who served less than three years. Although the district is expansive, Andal had the upper hand on two fronts. He is a longtime resident from the Central Valley and had run for office there, while Presley just moved to Sacramento in order to run for the seat late last year. Andal's Republican Party status also gave him an added push in the year of the elephant. Both candidates relied mainly on television in an attempt to gain some name recognition. Andal was on with 10-second spots, while Presley was on with a 30-second spot. But since "repetition, repetition, repetition" is the name of the game in advertising, Andal may again have gained an advantage by running his short spot with more frequency.

District 3 (39% D - 46% R)

Christian-Heising(D)	605,177	(33)
Dronenburg (R)*	**1,081, 396**	**(59)**
Mason(L)	96,292	(5)
Quirk(PF)	44,087	(2)

Thanks to the GOP statewide blowout, Republican Ernie Dronenburg no longer has the distinction of being the party's only *other* constitutional officer after Pete Wilson and Dan Lungren. He returns for his fifth — and final, thanks to term limits — term on the board.

District 4 (57% D - 30% R)

Sherman (D)*	**716,873**	**(54)**
Dynda (R)	474,825	(36)
Goldberg (L)	58,670	(4)
Isaacson (P)	75,620	(6)

The result in this race was all but pre-ordained, given the district's registration. The only real suspense came in the primary, when incumbent Brad Sherman filed for three different districts before choosing this one to run in. Dynda rode his credentials as an anti-tax advocate to beat registration, but never seriously challenged the well-funded Sherman.

Supreme Court confirmation

Ronald George

Yes	**2,886,667**	**(57)**
No	2,184,559	(43)

Joyce Kennard

Yes	**3,049,717**	**(59)**
No	2,164, 027	(42)

Kathleen Werdegar

Yes	**3,128,614**	**(61)**
No	1,988,164	(39)

This year's Supreme Court confirmation election was a far cry from the 1986 version, when an angry electorate tossed out former Chief Justice Rose Bird, and associate justices Joseph Grodin and Cruz Reynoso. All three justices confirmed in 1994 were appointed by Republican governors; Joyce Kennard by George Deukmejian (1989), Ronald George (1991) and Kathleen Werdegar (1994) by Pete Wilson. This was the first confirmation election for George and Werdegar, who by law had to stand before the electorate at the first gubernatorial election following their appointments. George was confirmed for 12 years before he must face voters again. Werdegar was confirmed for eight years. Kennard, on the other hand, received a 12-year term.

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CONGRESS

District 1 (51% D - 34% R)

Hamburg (D)*	88,242	(47)
Riggs (R)	**100,825**	**(53)**

Riggs

Hamburg

This rematch between incumbent Democrat Dan Hamburg and one-time Republican Congressman Frank Riggs has made this seat a musical chair. In 1990 Riggs ousted then-incumbent Democrat Doug Bosco, and was in turn beaten in 1992 by Hamburg. And in 1994, the year of the Republican wave, Riggs returned to remove incumbent Hamburg. The Riggs campaign shined the light on Hamburg's environmental record and action on the Headwaters Forest Act, which probably cost him votes in the northern most portion of the district where recent job loss was a big issue. Despite having brokered a significant bipartisan compromise in the House with the support of logging giant Pacific Lumber, Hamburg raised the ire of the timber industry. Mail from the Riggs campaign called Hamburg "America's Most Wanted Serial Job Killer." Ironically, when Riggs held the office more than two years ago, he tried unsuccessfully to pass Headwaters legislation not dissimilar to the amended bill that passed the House. But change is what this district wanted, and change is what it got, once again.

District 2 (42% D - 43% R)

Jacobs (D)	53,229	(26)
Herger (R)*	**131,775**	**(64)**
Kidd (AI)	14,898	(7)
Pendery (L)	5,162	(3)

There was no way Democrat Mary Jacobs was going to pull off a win in this rural mountain district, even in the absence of a national Republican resurgence. Republican incumbent Wally Herger is immensely popular in these parts, where 88 percent of voters are white and traditionally elect Republicans.

District 3 (48% D - 40% R)

Fazio (D)*	**93,137**	**(50)**
Lefever (R)	86,386	(46)
Crain (L)	7,808	(4)

This was a nail-biter until the wee hours of the morning after Election Day, as results trickled in and seesawed in favor of one candidate or the other. The presence of a Libertarian on the ballot may have ultimately thwarted Republican challenger Tim Lefever, who, had he received all of the conservative votes, may have eked past incumbent Vic Fazio. But Fazio, who last year helped save McClellan Air Force Base as the fifth ranking Democratic member of the House, withstood the crushing pressure for change and will return for his ninth term.

District 4 (41% D - 47% R)

Hirning (D)	75,120	(35)
Doolittle (R)*	**132,461**	**(61)**
Falconi (L)	8,166	(4)

Republicans saw a one-point increase in party registration, but two-term incumbent Doolittle probably didn't need it. He was re-elected over Democrat Katie Hirning and in the process tallied 12,000 more votes than his 1992 win over Democrat Patricia Malberg. It was never a shoo-in for Doolittle, since Hirning had cross-over appeal as a conservative Democrat who gained the support of Hewlett-Packard, a former Doolittle supporter. But Doolittle's campaign colored her with indelible ink as a Clinton Democrat. Both campaigns were on the air with negative ads. One indicator that Doolittle may have been worried about the race was evidenced in a mailer that included the endorsement of James Roosevelt, founder of the National Committee to Preserve Social Security. Doolittle, who had received low ratings from the both the NCPSS and the National Council of Senior Citizens, used the mailer as an attempt to defray some of the sting. The catch? Roosevelt died two years ago.

District 5 (58% D - 31% R)

Matsui (D)*	**118,463**	**(68)**
Dinsmore (R)	50,363	(29)
Mors (AI)	4,438	(3)

Republican Robert Dinsmore thought he'd take another shot at eight-term incumbent Robert Matsui. Predictable result.

District 6 (55% D - 30% R)

Woolsey (D)*	**125,117**	**(58)**
Nugent (R)	81,342	(38)
Beary (L)	5,643	(3)
Jones (P)	3,670	(2)

Republican challenger Mike Nugent put up a fair fight against Lynn Woolsey, with a few well-placed radio ads and the capture of several important local endorsements. Still, this district stayed in the hands of the incumbent, who had more money and a registration advantage on her side. Nugent even secured the help of the widow of Bill Filante, who was Woolsey's GOP opponent two years ago. Filante lost his bid because he was dying of cancer and couldn't campaign.

District 7 (62% D - 24% R)

Miller (D)*	**106,794**	**(70)**
Hughes (R)	42,154	(28)
Callison (P)	4,430	(3)

Even if George Miller wasn't all that popular, Charles Hughes' extreme right views wouldn't have settled well with the voters of this highly Democratic district. Miller goes back to Washington, although he'll no longer have his committee chairmanship.

District 8 (65% D - 15% R)

Pelosi (D)*	**128,940**	**(82)**
Cheung (R)	28,572	(18)

A Republican tide the size of Mount Everest couldn't have knocked Nancy Pelosi out of this district.

District 9 (69% D - 14% R)

Dellums (D)*	**117,818**	**(72)**
Wright (R)	36,914	(23)
Mar (P)	8,369 (5)	

Ron Dellums, *former* chair of the House

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Armed Services Committee, goes back to Washington.

District 10 (43% D - 44% R)

Schwartz (D)	82,555	(39)
Baker (R)*	**126,295**	**(59)**
Cooper (P)	4,459	(2)

Bill Baker scored his most impressive victory in years.

District 11 (50% D - 40% R)

Perry (D)	48,833	(35)
Pombo (R)*	**86,252**	**(62)**
Miller (L)	4,221	(3)

Conservative incumbent Richard Pombo won re-election, although Democrat Randy Perry campaigned long and hard throughout the district. A law-enforcement association lobbyist, Perry played up his crime-fighter endorsements and attacked Pombo as a whiner who abused his franking privileges. Perry carried a piece of orange carpet around with him during the campaign, a symbol to remind voters of Pombo's complaint in front of a CNN camera crew about the orange carpet in his Capitol office, something Perry says points to a question of priorities. But Pombo never paid much attention to Perry and proved to be by far the popular favorite in the San Joaquin County district.

District 12 (56% D - 28% R)

Lantos (D)*	**106,138**	**(68)**
Wilder (R)	51,299	(33)

Tom Lantos is another of those few few few Democrats who managed to run ahead of party registration.

District 13 (58% D - 27% R)

Stark (D)*	**88,999**	**(65)**
Molton (R)	42,026	(30)
Gough (L)	7,163	(5)

Pete Stark, the godfather of a national single-payer health system, gets to promote his notions in a much more hostile environment.

District 14 (48% D - 36% R)

Eshoo (D)*	**109,149**	**(61)**
Brink (R)	70,801	(39)

The Republican surge didn't seep into this corner of the San Francisco Peninsula where, despite marginal registration, Democratic rookie incumbent Anna Eshoo scored an impressive victory.

District 15 (46% D - 38% R)

Mineta (D)*	**109,475**	**(60)**
Wick (R)	74,455	(40)

Norm Mineta keeps rolling along.

District 16 (55% D - 29% R)

Lofgren (D)	**68,778**	**(65)**
Smith (R)	37,359	(35)

Santa Clara County Supervisor Zoe Lofgren had already shown her brand of fireball campaigning in the primary, when she whipped Tom McEnery — the former San Jose mayor and favorite in the race.

District 17 (53% D - 31% R)

Farr (D)*	**76,521**	**(52)**
McCampbell (R)	66,537	(45)
Coffin (G)	4,903	(3)

This should have been a shoo-in for incumbent Sam Farr, but he was squirming during the last week after rumors surfaced that environmentalists were going to punish him for his pro-NAFTA vote by turning to the Green Party. Farr first won this seat in a special election

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in 1993 to replace Democrat Leon Panetta, who left to head up the Office of Management and Budget before becoming President Bill Clinton's chief of staff. Republican attorney Bill McCampbell, who opposed Panetta in 1992 and Farr in 1993, actually raised more money than did Farr — $363,000 to Farr's $338,000. Eventually, Santa Cruz County saved Farr's neck by giving him a 60 percent-to-35 percent margin. Without that edge, McCampbell would have been the first Republican to hold this seat since 1976.

District 18 (52% D - 37% R)		
Condit (D)*	**79,768**	**(65)**
Carter (R)	39,690	(32)
Morzella (L)	3,463	(3)

Moderate Democratic incumbent Gary Condit bucks the notion that the Central Valley is solid Republican. Condit is one of the few Democrats anywhere who ran far ahead of his party's district registration.

District 19 (46% D - 44% R)		
Lehman (D)*	64,246	(39)
Radanovich (R)	**92,979**	**(57)**
Comstock (L)	5,830	(4)

Lehman

Radanovich

This was not the year for Democratic incumbent Rick Lehman, who was swept out to sea by the Republican tide and Republican George Radanovich. Republicans went after this seat hard and fast, and Lehman campaign manager Darry Sragow never felt at ease, pointing out that despite registration figures, voters overwhelmingly said they would vote Republican. Radanovich took advantage of that, campaigning against the "Clinton Democrat," even carrying a cardboard cutout of Clinton with him on the campaign trail to link his opponent to the president. Radanovich also made hay over the "Contract With America," a statement of GOP positions on crime, taxes and welfare, which he acknowledged could come back to bite him if Republicans fail to meet their pledge.

District 20 (58% D - 32% R)		
Dooley (D)*	**47,857**	**(56)**
Young (R)	37,682	(44)

Incumbent Cal Dooley has seen bigger wins, but voters continue prefer the two-term Democrat over Republican challenger Paul Young.

District 21 (40% D - 48% R)		
Evans (D)	41,599	(27)
Thomas (R)*	**104,472**	**(69)**
Hodges (L)	6,132	(4)

Not only did incumbent Bill Thomas have the tide in his favor, but he rode in for his ninth term on a 40-foot tube, hanging ten all the way.

District 22 (43% D - 41% R)		
Capps (D)	89,643	(49)
Seastrand (R)*	**90,612**	**(49)**
Bersohn (L)	4,127	(2)

Capps

Seastrand

A few days after the election, this was one of the few congressional seats nationwide that was still in dispute; Republican Andrea Seastrand apparently won on Election Day, but only by 969 votes. In theory, this could be changed once all the absentee ballots are counted. Democrat Walter Capps' strongest base of support was in the south — he is a religion professor at UC Santa Barbara — while Seastrand's lay in the north, closer to San Luis Obispo. Capps hammered Seastrand for her stand on abortion and her support of the Christian right wing, hoping that those views wouldn't sit well with students and young liberals in the college towns. Seastrand also was saddled with two other factors: Democratic state Senator-elect Jack O'Connell's massive registration efforts in San Luis Obispo County, and Michael Huffington. This is Huffington's old congressional district, and the depth of local feeling for him can be measured in the fact that Huffington lost the area in the U.S. Senate primary last June to Bill Dannemeyer, an arch-conservative who would have had a hard time getting elected sewer inspector if he hadn't been on the ballot with Huffington. Huffington also lost the area to Democrat Dianne Feinstein.

District 23 (43% D - 42% R)		
Ready (D)	41,453	(27)
Gallegly (R)*	**99,022**	**(66)**
Brown (L)	5,818	(4)
Martson (G)	3,982	(3)

Incumbent Elton Gallegly was on the immigrant kick before it was cool. But Democrat Kevin Ready had enough powerful friends in Washington to get some help from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Still, with a district this close in registration, Ready had trouble convincing anybody he was a real threat to Gallegly, and the voters validated that suspicion.

District 24 (46% D - 40% R)		
Beilenson (D)*	**84,080**	**(49)**
Sybert (R)	80,879	(47)
Koehler (L)	5,493	(3)

Beilenson

Sybert

Republicans painted a target on incumbent Tony Beilenson's back two years ago when he was forced by redistricting into the southwestern San Fernando Valley — territory unfriendly for a liberal Democrat. He weathered the storm, beating conservative Tom McClintock, but this year he faced a sterner test in Richard Sybert. A GOP loyalist most recently serving in the Wilson administration, Sybert had money of his own, and a slew of friends ready to give him more. His politics also appeared better tailored to voters in this northwestern San Fernando Valley-southern Ventura County district. National pundits anointed Sybert one of the nation's top challengers, and a parade of GOP bigwigs, ranging from Bob Dole to Charlton Heston, swept in to lend fund-raising help. Beilenson's own fund raising lagged, thanks to his resistance to accepting PAC contributions, but he was buttressed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and he proved to be a tireless campaigner. Early on, Sybert had hoped

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to tie Bill Clinton around Beilenson's neck, but as Clinton's standing improved late in the race, the strategy was abandoned. In fact, Beilenson didn't run away from Clinton, although he has always been fairly hawkish on illegal immigration. Sybert's association with Sacramento and his relatively recent arrival in the district may have hurt him. The frenzy of last-minute fund raising for Sybert suggested all was not going well, and Beilenson was able to match his wealthier foe mailer for mailer at the end. As tight as the race is, a Beilenson victory figures to be one of the few success stories on a dismal day for Democrats.

District 25 (38% D - 49% R)

Gilmartin (D)	47,554	(32)
McKeon (R)*	**97,613**	**(65)**
Cutler (L)	5,587	(4)

Running as a challenger, Howard "Buck" McKeon pulled down a surprisingly low vote total in 1992, considering the heavy GOP registration in this Antelope Valley district. As an incumbent he proved much more formidable.

District 26 (60% D - 27% R)

Berman (D)*	**48,840**	**(63)**
Forsch (R)	25,101	(32)
Miller (L)	4,112	(5)

For some reason, incumbent Howard Berman got some primary opposition this year from not one, but two different candidates. The reason may have something to do with the minority cast to this San Fernando Valley district. Still, it was no trouble for Berman to dust off the foes, assuring his return to Washington. Berman's opponent, Gary Forsch, ran two years ago, and lost by a two-to-one margin. He fared no better this time.

District 27 (44% D - 43% R)

Kahn (D)	61,967	(43)
Moorhead (R)*	**75,566**	**(52)**
Gibbs (AI)	3,878	(3)
Decherd (L)	3,423	(2)

This district, which covers Burbank, Glendale and Pasadena, may be one where the movement back toward incumbents at the end of the campaign helped a Republican. Eleven-term incumbent Carlos Moorhead is, at 72, one of the older members of the House, and seemed particularly vulnerable to voter anger at entrenched incumbents. Two years ago, he took only 50 percent of the vote in a district favorable to the GOP, running against computer typographer Doug Kahn. This year, Kahn was back with better organization and a whole lot more money, some of it from national Democrats who saw Moorhead as vulnerable. Kahn was relentless with his mail campaign and played to moderate Republicans by attacking Moorhead's opposition to abortion rights and an assault-weapons ban. The tactic made sense in a district that, despite its good numbers for the GOP, went for Clinton and Feinstein in 1992. Moorhead, however, had some advantages too — a healthy bank account and a seniority that suddenly looked like a plus with the arrival of a Republican majority in the House. Competitive races in overlapping Assembly districts gave both candidates access to strong voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts. In the end, Moorhead didn't need the help, thanks to the power of the Re-

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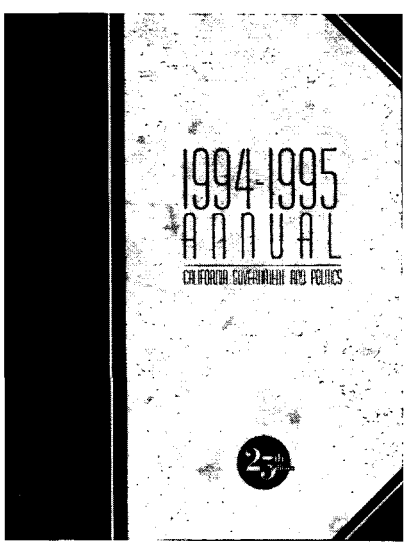

California Government & Politics ANNUAL 1994-95

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publican surge. With the GOP in power in Washington, Moorhead is one of the few Californians with seniority enough to compete for a committee chairmanship, in his case, the Judiciary Committee.

District 28 (41% D - 46% R)

Randle (D)	45,402	(31)
Dreier (R)*	**99,342**	**(67)**
Baker (L)	3,757	(3)

Even if registration in this northern San Gabriel Valley district were not so strongly Republican, any challenger would likely be swamped by incumbent David Dreier and his $2-million bank account.

District 29 (58% D - 27% R)

Waxman (D)*	**113,023**	**(68)**
Stepanek (R)	46,226	(28)
Binkley (L)	6,350	(4)

Incumbent Henry Waxman's affluent Beverly Hills-Santa Monica constituents seems to have no trouble sending their own veteran incumbent back to Washington year after year. Waxman has backed off of involvement in the rapidly shriveling Berman-Waxman political machine, preferring to devote his energies to health and smoking issues.

District 30 (63% D - 22% R)

Becerra (D)*	**38,712**	**(66)**
Ramirez (R)	16,269	(28)
Weilburg (L)	3,343	(6)

Democratic registration in this heavily Latino downtown Los Angeles district actually went up 2 percent since spring, likely fueled by interest in Proposition 187. The boyish-looking Becerra didn't need the help, however.

District 31 (59% D - 27% R)

Martinez (D)*	**45,503**	**(59)**
Flores (R)	31,156	(41)

Matthew "Marty" Martinez always draws a crowd in Democratic primaries, and he did again this year, beating out two fairly aggressive candidates. In the general, Martinez barely had to break a sweat to turn back Republican John Flores.

District 32 (77% D - 13% R)

Dixon (D)*	**88,007**	**(78)**
Farhat (R)	19,469	(17)
Honigsfeld (P)	5,559	(5)

Incumbent Julian Dixon has stepped in to help handle what's left of the Berman-Waxman political machine, but he doesn't need the help himself.

District 33 (68% D - 19% R)

Roybal-Allard (D)*	**30,350**	**(81)**
Booker (P)	6,953	(19)

Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard didn't even draw a Republican opponent this year, continuing a family tradition of election victories started by her father, former Congressman Ed Roybal.

District 34 (61% D - 28% R)

Torres (D)*	**65,598**	**(62)**
Nunez (R)	36,039	(34)
Swinney (L)	4,492	(4)

This San Gabriel Valley district was drawn to elect a Latino Democrat, and it will do just that, sending veteran Esteban Torres back to Washington without a struggle.

District 35 (80% D - 11% R)

Waters (D)*	**60,446**	**(78)**
Truman (R)	16,802	(22)

The in-your-face Maxine Waters is an icon in her South-Central district, and there isn't a Democrat, let alone a Republican, who can pry her from this seat.

District 36 (43% D - 42% R)

Harman (D)*	91,248	(48)
Brooks (R)	90,686	(48)
Fields (AI)	4,823	(3)
Tyler (L)	3,716	(2)

Harman

Brooks

In one of the state's tightest races, Republican Susan Brooks finished election night 97 votes ahead of incumbent Democrat Jane Harman. Harman had led through most of the night, and was overtaken only in the early hours of the morning. Once the absentee count started, however, Harman reclaimed the lead. The whisker-thin margin could ultimately prompt a recount, meaning the final result could remain in doubt for weeks. The campaign itself was one of the bitterest of the year. It began with a fierce primary fight between two Rancho Palos Verdes council members, Susan Brooks and Ron Florance. Florance had money, but Brooks was the pit bull, and the defeated Florance later sued her for libel. The fall campaign continued in that vein, with both parties pouring money into the respective campaigns. Harman, who won with almost entirely her own resources two years ago, waited until the end of the campaign to write herself a check which enabled her to run television ads on network affiliates. The roughly $220,000 buy featured two spots, one stressing her own independence from Democratic party leaders, the other tying Brooks to anti-gun control forces. She sent out several mailers, one featuring a picture of a murdered abortion doctor and asserting that Brooks would be hostile to pro-choice issues. Brooks responded particularly angrily to this piece—the GOP candidate describes herself as pro-choice, an important position that was instrumental in Harman's defeat of the pro-life Joan Milke Flores in 1992. Unable to match Harman's deep pockets dollar for dollar, Brooks stuck to the mail, including one charging that Harman had reneged on a 1992 promise to refuse PAC donations from interests doing business in front of her committee. Brooks also brought back a 1992 Flores charge, asserting that Harman's law firm was tied to poison gas factories in Libya. Although the national tide may have helped Brooks, the district's significant GOP advantage meant that Harman always figured to have trouble holding on. Harman had considerable Republican support, a factor that may have helped her stay in the hunt despite Brooks' registration edge and the GOP tide. It won't bring back control of the House, but Harman's win is sweet for the Democrats anyway.

District 37 (77% D - 13% R)

Tucker (D)*	**58,693**	**(78)**
Wilson (L)	16,777	(22)

Incumbent Walter Tucker III was indicted earlier this year on bribery charges arising out of his former life as mayor of Compton. Tucker denies the charges, but with no Republican opponent, he could probably have admitted to them and still won re-election in a Democratic district that includes Watts and Wilmington as well as Compton.

District 38 (52% D - 36% R)

Mathews (D)	47,672	(37)
Horn (R)*	**76,399**	**(59)**
Mueller (L)	3,451	(3)
Green (P)	2,768	(2)

The race began with question as to whether university professor Peter

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Mathews would be able to raise enough money for a competitive race against freshman incumbent Steve Horn. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee issued a challenge in early June, saying they would target the race if Mathews could raise $200,000 on his own by July. He didn't meet the goal, but his fund raising proved effective enough to convince the DCCC, which stepped in with money and professional campaign help. Mathews eventually raised nearly $400,000 by Election Day. The campaign turned ugly in the final weeks, as Mathews sent out more than a dozen pieces of mail accusing Horn of being anti-choice, oblivious to the district's unemployment, and pro-Social Security cuts. Several early pieces accused Horn of reneging on his policy of refusing all PAC money. Horn's campaign responded angrily to the charges, calling them all "lies and distortions." The incumbent sent out several mailers of his own, comparing his and Mathews' positions on fiscal and tax issues, and accusing Mathews of flip-flopping on his support for the death penalty. The overwhelming vote total in favor of Horn, in a district with a 16-point registration advantage for Democrats, shows that the incumbent was able to maintain his coalition of blue-collar Democrats, Perot voters, and loyal Republicans.

District 39 (39% D - 49% R)

Davis (D)	46,169	(29)
Royce (R)*	**105,602**	**(66)**
Dean (L)	7,410	(5)

Republican incumbent Ed Royce, who moved to Congress from the state Senate in 1992, lifted nary a finger to beat back the challenges from a pair of local businessmen — Democrat Bob Davis of Buena Park and Libertarian Jack Dean of Fullerton.

District 40 (39% D - 47% R)

Rusk (D)	46,360	(29)
Lewis (R)*	**111,738**	**(71)**

Some Republicans may think eight-term incumbent Jerry Lewis isn't conservative enough, but their best chance to remedy that complaint comes in the primary — where they invariably fail.

District 41 (40% D - 48% R)

Tessier (D)	47,271	(38)
Kim (R)*	**77,393**	**(62)**

The western half of the 41st District spreads across southeast Los Angeles County and the northeast corner of Orange County, while the eastern half lies entirely in San Bernardino County. Although the population is 48 percent minority, voter registration among the two dominant minority groups — Latinos and Asians — has been abysmally low in past years. As a result, under normal circumstances, Democrats would pay little heed to this district. But 1994 has proven anything but a normal year, for the incumbent is Republican Jay Kim, a freshman who in 1992 became the first Korean-born member ever to serve in Congress. Kim has been embroiled in on-going investigations regarding the funding of that 1992 campaign, and the bad publicity generated a host of primary opponents this past June. Kim survived, but pulled in only 41 percent of the vote. As a result, it was thought that Democrat Ed Tessier could mount a credible chal-

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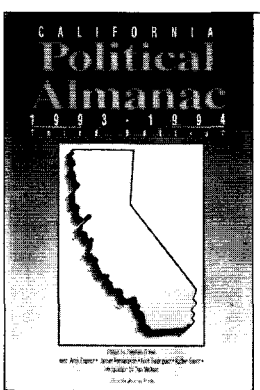

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lenge. But the Republican tide that brought GOP control of the House of Representatives swept Tessier aside. In spite of his legal troubles, Kim scored an impressive win.

District 42 (52% D - 38% R)

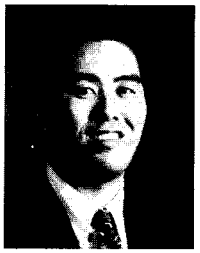
Brown (D)*	**56,924**	**(51)**
Guzman (R)	54,496	(49)

Good ole unreconstructed liberal George Brown has weathered many an onslaught during his 32-year congressional career. But he seems to survive the continual erosion of Democratic soil in the mostly Republican Inland Empire. Two years ago, he beat back a strong challenge from 'round-the-world pilot Dick Rutan. This year, however, Republicans nominated an attractive Latino in Rob Guzman, who was expected to appeal to the area's 34 percent Hispanic population. But Guzman began with the "carpetbagger" albatross around his neck, stemming from the fact that he also ran for Congress in 1992 — in East Los Angeles. Guzman's campaign treasury was depleted as well, thanks to a three-way primary fight. But this was a Republican year, and Brown barely eked ahead on Election Day, running a point behind Democratic registration. Guzman ran 10 points ahead of GOP registration to come tantalizingly close. If uncounted absentee ballots don't tip the scales against Brown, his vulnerability in 1996 has been enhanced by the Democrats' loss of control of the House. One of Brown's advantages was his chairmanship of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee, which now passes to a Republican.

District 43 (41% D - 47% R)

Takano (D)	54,129	(39)
Calvert (R)*	**77,152**	**(55)**
Berkman (L)	8,887	(6)

Whop, splat, gimme a bat. Dirty, mean, bitter, savage — apply all these adjectives and more to this poor excuse for a congressional campaign in Riverside. The race itself really began in 1992 when the two adversaries faced each other as well, and the outcome was decided only after absentee ballots were counted; Democrat Mark Takano won on Election Day, but Republican Ken Calvert eventually went to Washington. Once there, he spent the latter part of his first term wading through a sewer of bad publicity. Most of the stench grew from the night he was caught by Corona police with a prostitute in his car and



Takano

Calvert

lied about the incident, only to "come clean" when local newspapers gained access to the police report. As a result, Calvert barely survived the primary, squeaking through with a 1000-vote margin against the same conservative candidate he had crushed in 1992. Takano, of course, made Calvert's troubles the linchpin of his campaign, mixing it with reports of Calvert's financial troubles. As if that didn't muddy up the contest enough, Assemblyman Ray Haynes — a conservative Republican running for the state Senate in roughly the same area — spiced up the proceedings by accusing Takano, a teacher, of being a homosexual. Haynes wouldn't elaborate, nor would he offer any proof beyond the rumor mill. For his part, Takano, who is single and lives with his parents, refused to answer any questions on the subject. Midway through September, polls seemed to indicate that voters from both parties were searching for somewhere else to land. Libertarian Gene Berkman stood to benefit, and in fact siphoned off nearly 9000 votes — double his 1992 total. But the 1994 Republican tide covered up a wealth of ills for Calvert.

District 44 (44% D - 45% R)

Clute (D)	60,134	(38)
Bono (R)	**87,728**	**(56)**
Cochran (AI)	10,043	(6)

Clute

Bono

It just wouldn't seem right unless California sent someone from the entertainment industry to Washington. First, it was former GOP Senator George Murphy. Then, of course, there was that Reagan fella. Now, it's Sonny Bono, who began his political career modestly enough as mayor of Palm Springs during the 1980s. Bono tried to climb quickly in 1992 by challenging for the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate, but he was whomped by conservative Bruce Herschensohn. He also toyed with the notion of running for lieutenant governor this year before settling on a congressional seat that came open due to the retirement of GOP incumbent Al McCandless. Bono was joined on the ticket by Democrat Steve Clute, a former Riverside assemblyman who easily defeated two primary opponents. The final match featured a pair of intellectually-challenged contenders who are known as good campaigners. In years past, Clute depended on Assembly colleagues for the bulk of his campaign treasury. This time, he was able to tap into some GOP sources, especially in the agricultural industry. Farmers and ranchers are important to this semi-rural district's economy, although they don't post great numbers at the polls. Bono, meanwhile, had little trouble raising money and eventually secured enough of his Republican base to overcome Clute's inroads.

District 45 (34% D - 52% R)

Williamson (D)	51,964	(31)
Rohrabacher (R)*	**116,177**	**(69)**

Three-term incumbent Dana Rohrabacher has made a career of bashing immigrants, so Proposition 187 didn't hurt him at all. He surfed to victory over Huntington Beach attorney Brett Williamson.

District 46 (49% D - 41% R)

Farber (D)	29,976	(37)
Dornan (R)*	**46,460**	**(57)**
Newhouse (L)	4,706	(6)

Once again, Democrats mounted a tough challenge to the flamboyant, often-bombastic Bob Dornan. But the 18-year veteran of congressional wars managed once again to hack his way to re-election. Democrats thought they might be able to knock off Dornan this year. Registration in this 64 percent minority district has been slipping more and more toward Democrats; two years ago, it was dead even between the two parties. Farber mounted a well-heeled campaign, but he was plagued early on by charges that he was carpetbagging; in 1992, he had run for Congress from San Diego and only recently had moved into Orange County. He also was hurt when Latinos once again stayed away from the polls in droves. In the end, all

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Farber's efforts slammed into the public's mood to punish Democrats.

District 47 (30% D - 56% R)

Kingbury (D)	49,557	(25)
Cox (R)*	**143,060**	**(72)**
Wagner (L)	6,809	(3)

Four-term incumbent Chris Cox easily won re-election in one of the most Republican districts in California.

District 48 (29% D - 56% R)

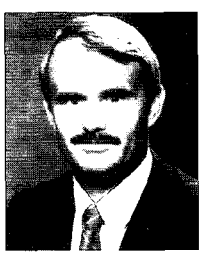
Leshick (D)	40,150	(22)
Packard (R)*	**132,319**	**(73)**
White (PF)	7,914	(4)

The district sprawls across three counties — Orange, Riverside and San Diego — and Republicans outnumber Democrats nearly two-to-one in all three. As a result, it's a seventh term for Republican Ron Packard, who first won this seat as a write-in candidate in 1982.

District 49 (41% D - 42% R)

Schenk (D)*	79,029	(46)
Bilbray (R)	**83,743**	**(49)**
Hoogenboom (L)	4,945	(3)
Kline (PF)	4,580	(3)

Schenk



Bilbray

Lynn Schenk rode a huge bank account and a Democratic tide into Congress in 1992. This year, her bank account was still intact — about $1 million — but the tide was overwhelmingly Republican. In addition, her GOP opponent — San Diego County Supervisor Brian Bilbray — was much more polished and experienced than the neophyte she defeated in her inaugural run two years ago. If that weren't enough, congressional Republicans honored her with a high-priority target. All this added up to a tough re-election. Not that Schenk had everything going against her. A moderate, she was well-liked by the area's business community and had enough money to re-float the *Titanic*. She outspend her Republican opponent nearly two-to-one, including a four-to-one gap on television. In addition to touting her own record, she bashed Bilbray over his record as a supervisor, especially his acceptance of some $7000 to represent the county at meetings he was elected to attend. She also tried to capitalize on his signing of the GOP's national "contract." For his part, Bilbray glued Schenk to President Bill Clinton and splashed her with the "tax and spend" bromides. Proposition 187 — hotter in borderville San Diego than elsewhere — was an issue, with Bilbray supporting it and Schenk opposed. But the 49th does not have much of a minority population, so the initiative's impact on this race may have come in the form of Anglo backlash that cut against Schenk — at least enough to have torpedoed her re-election.

District 50 (51% D - 34% R)

Filner (D)*	**55,015**	**(57)**
Acevedo (R)	34,119	(35)
Krueger (G)	1,822	(2)
Duenez (L)	3,098	(3)
Ramirez (PF)	2,817	(3)

The Republican tide broke around the 50th District. First-term incumbent Bob Filner scored an impressive victory in 1992, but Republicans recruited an attractive Latina in Mary Alice Acevedo, then poured a lot of resources into her campaign. GOP heavyweights like Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, presidential hopefuls Jack Kemp and Dan Quayle, and House Minority Leader Newt Gingrich all trouped through the district. In addition, Acevedo sent targeted mail to the district's large Latino population. Filner led in early fund raising, but Acevedo had enough of her own resources to keep her campaign afloat during the last critical phase. Filner, meanwhile, ran with rather than away from President Bill Clinton — one of the few Democrats nationwide to attempt that ploy and get away with it in 1994. Despite the fact that 41 percent of the district is Latino, Proposition 187 proved not to be a factor, since both candidates opposed it. In the end, Filner managed to win with nearly the same numbers he posted two years ago.

District 51 (31% D - 52% R)

Tamerius (D)	51,785	(28)
Cunningham (R)*	**124,557**	**(67)**
Holmes (L)	6,333	(3)
Clark (PF)	3,751	(2)

Former "top gun" fighter ace Randy Cunningham blew away the competition once again.

District 52 (40% D - 45% R)

Gastil (D)	48,411	(31)
Hunter (R)*	**99,825**	**(64)**
Shea (L)	4,779	(3)
Edelman (PF)	2,953	(2)

If Democrat Janet Gastil couldn't unseat seven-term incumbent Duncan Hunter in 1992, when he was plagued with a myriad of bounced checks at the now-defunct House bank and a Democratic tide statewide, she certainly wasn't going to take him out when the bank scandal was distant memory and the tide was decidedly Republican.

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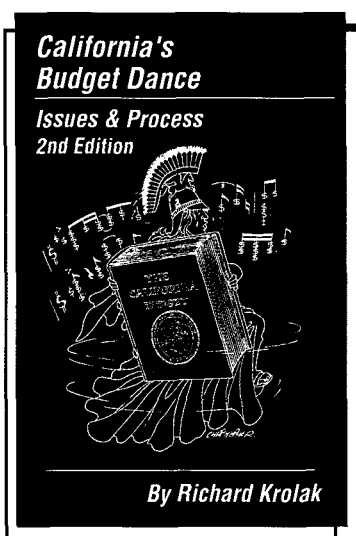

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STATE SENATE

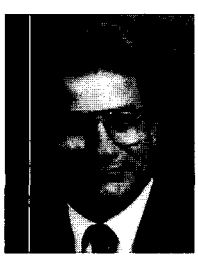
District 2 (54% D - 31% R)

Thompson (D)*	**149,968**	**(60)**
McMichael (R)	88,574	(36)
Elizondo (PF)	2,953	(4)

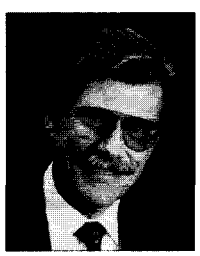
There was no battle in the primary, when both major party candidates ran unopposed, and there was no real battle in the general, when Democratic incumbent Mike Thompson won easy re-election over Republican Frank McMichael, a Mendocino County supervisor. Thompson moved from where he was serving in District 4 back to his hometown of St. Helena to run last year in this district, the seat having been abandoned by former Senator Barry Keene.

District 4 (48% D - 39% R)

McGowan (D)	106,633	(45)
Johannessen (R)*	**127,829**	**(55)**



McGowan

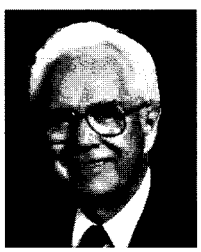


Johannessen

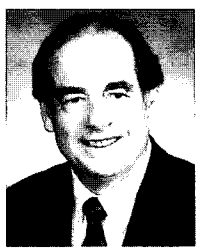
What an odd conclusion to an odd campaign. Within days of November 8th, the Johannessen campaign sent two mailers to voters and hired a phone bank firm in order to defend the Republican candidate against charges of child abuse. Unfortunately for Johannessen, the allegations were never made. It seems that Senate Democrats had talked up the fact that "something" was going to be used against Johannessen, and it seems they pushed Johannessen into a premature defense. The targeted race was uncertain to the end in this huge district in which neither the incumbent nor his Democratic opponent, Yolo County Supervisor Mike McGowan, had the advantage of broad familiarity. Both received party support for television and radio buys, but the "R" after Johannessen's name had more influence than McGowan's moderate proclamations, including his refusal to divulge his choice for governor.

District 6 (54% D - 35% R)

Greene (D)*	**118,620**	**(54)**
Cox (R)	102,859	(46)



Greene



Cox

One of the more entertaining Senate contests, this race was full of it, from spirited jabbing to ferocious character assaults. Democratic incumbent Leroy Greene, who has served in the Legislature since 1962, ran as the "Tough Old Bird" candidate, a silly yet apropos tag, and suggested his opponent was a "dog" who would roll over on a vote if a contributor threw him a "bone." Republican Dave Cox, a one-term Sacramento supervisor, focused on tying pay and perks to the 32 years Greene spent in office, calling him a career politician in order to attract the anti-incumbent vote. And in perhaps one of the more novel campaign moves, Greene challenged Cox to sign a pledge saying Cox would not accept a pay raise if elected, which the Republican signed. But Greene would not sign when the challenge was reversed, saying he was worth more than today's professional athlete. The senator returns for his final, four-year term.

District 8 (58% D - 24% R)

Fitzgerald (D)	38,847	(20)
Spinosa (R)	28,049	(14)
Valverde (L)	4,143	(2)
Kopp (I)*	**122,582**	**(63)**

Although the district seems to have a solid Democratic base, it has belonged to independent Quentin Kopp since 1986, when disenchanted Republicans threw their money behind him to keep former Assemblyman Lou Papan out. Kopp has since established himself in the Senate, and Democrats will have to wait for Kopp to leave office in 1998 to get their foot back in the door.

District 10 (55% D - 30% R)

Lockyer (D)*	**113,538**	**(63)**
Smith (R)	67,246	(37)

On Election Day, Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer fared a little better than his Assembly counterpart — Speaker Willie Brown Jr. At least Lockyer maintained control of his house, although his caucus margin of control had shrunk to 21-17-2.

District 12 (50% D - 39% R)

McCorquodale (D)*	86,351	(47)
Monteith (R)	**91,519**	**(50)**
DeGroat (L)	5,956	(3)

McCorquodale

Monteith

Senate Republicans targeted this heart-of-the-Central Valley seat and actively participated in the campaign against Democratic incumbent Dan McCorquodale. The race was tight until the end, when agri-businessman Dick Monteith emerged, the beneficiary of a Republican tide and target strategy. Although registration leaned ever so slightly Democratic, McCorquodale had an uphill battle on his hands, trying to get the district's 24-percent Latino population to the polls. Last-week-blitz mail, funded by the Republican Party and by special interest PACs, painted McCorquodale as an ultra-liberal friend of Willie Brown Jr. and anti-civil justice reform trial lawyers. The incumbent also was hurt by the fact that reapportionment threw him out of his natural

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base in San Jose and forced him over the mountains into Modesto, where Monteith is a native. McCorquodale also may have fallen victim to the ambush that Assembly Republicans pulled on Democratic incumbent Margaret Snyder in the 25th Assembly District, which nests inside this district. The $220,000 pumped into Republican George House's Assembly campaign during the final week drew in votes for Monteith as well.

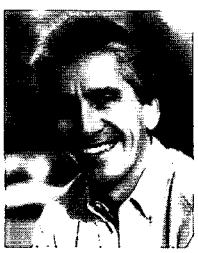
District 14 (42% D - 47% R)

Hagopian (D)	61,095	(29)
Maddy (R)*	**148,953**	**(71)**

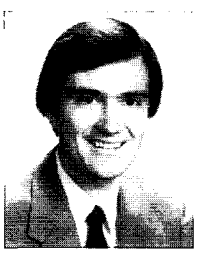
After a 24-year legislative career, Republican Minority Leader Ken Maddy faces the prospect of returning to a caucus made more conservative by the addition of Republicans like Richard Mountjoy and Ray Haynes. As a result, his battles may not be over as conservatives prepare to flex their muscle.

District 16 (58% D - 32% R)

Costa (D)	**59,022**	**(51)**
Wyman (R)*	56,867	(49)



Costa



Wyman

Republicans held out hope that incumbent Senator Phil Wyman would tally up enough absentee ballots after the election to overcome Assemblyman Jim Costa's 2155-vote lead. But it looks as though the seat in this redrawn district now belongs to Costa, who moves to the upper house after spending 16 years in the Assembly. Wyman, too, spent 16 years in the Legislature, the last year and a half in the Senate after being elected in a 1993 special election over Costa to fill a vacancy left by former Senator Don Rogers. But Wyman's victory came in the old, pre-reapportionment 16th District, which was decidedly Republican. The new district leans the other way, which is why Rogers left for greener pastures in the first place back in 1992. Still, Wyman ran well ahead of GOP registration — and Costa ran well behind Democratic — to make the race competitive to the end. Costa was hampered by the fact that 51 percent of the district is Latino, and the Latinos mostly stayed home. Costa ran well in his old Assembly district around Fresno, but fared poorly in rural areas of Kings, Madera and Kern counties. A good deal of party money went into both campaigns, much of it spent on negative advertising. Wyman went after Costa's neutral position on Proposition 187, although Costa's co-authorship of the "three-strikes" law and hefty law enforcement endorsements served him well. Wyman, on the other hand, was painted as a knee-jerk, right wing Republican, something Costa backers hoped would be unappealing to potential cross-over Democrats.

District 18 (45% D - 40% R)

O'Connell (D)	**139,224**	**(59)**
MacElvaine (R)	96,125	(41)

Republicans finally thought they would get a chance to snatch this seat when Democratic incumbent Gary Hart decided to leave the Legislature. After all, 1994 promised to be a GOP year and registration leans this seat toward Republicans. But their hopes were dashed when veteran Democratic Assemblyman Jack O'Connell decided to run. O'Connell has been in the Assembly since 1982 and had built so powerful a reputation in the southern portion of the district that he once was nominated by both parties. But O'Connell was unknown in the northern portion, which lies in San Luis Obispo County. No problem. The peripetatic campaigner hoofed through the unknown precincts, wearing out three pairs of shoes, according to his campaign. He also sprearheaded what one Republican called a "monstrous" voter-registration effort that helped raise Democratic registration some four points. As a result, he built a breakwater that kept the Republican tide out of the 18th District, and even helped other Democrats running in the same territory — principally, congressional candidate Walter Capps, who lost a narrow contest to Assemblywoman Andrea Seastrand.

District 20 (59% D - 29% R)

Rosenthal (D)*	**66,878**	**(59)**
White (R)	47,604	(42)

This district was the scene of intense turmoil this past spring, when outgoing incumbent David Roberti had to fend off a recall election initiated by gun-control opponents. Roberti survived, but the recall was so expensive that he had no money left for his campaign for state treasurer, and he lost in the primary. Meanwhile, veteran Senator Herschel Rosenthal was busy preparing to succeed Roberti in the heavily Democratic district. Rosenthal may have achieved some sort of political milestone, as he has run three times in the last four years in three *different* districts. In 1990 he won election in the 22nd. When reapportionment sent the 22nd over to predominantly Latino East Los Angeles, Rosenthal moved over to the whiter, more affluent 23rd, only to be taken out in a bitter primary by Tom Hayden. With Roberti retiring thanks to term limits, Rosenthal quickly stepped in, having represented the area in previous apportionments. While he was subjected to some heat for "carpetbagging," registration was so heavily Democratic that he had no trouble turning back Republican Dolores White, who was an activist in the Roberti recall.

District 22 (65% D - 20% R)

Polanco (D)	**41,522**	**(69)**
Lee (R)	13,688	(23)
Way (L)	1,990	(3)
Wolff (P)	3,424	(6)

The new 22nd District, created to elect a Latino, was tailor-made for Assemblyman Richard Polanco's next step up the political ladder. Polanco has become something of king (and queen) maker in Los Angeles' fiercely factional Latino political community, and those efforts caused him to have a touch more trouble than expected in the primary against activist Yolanda Gonzalez. Once past that battle, however, strong registration made him a lock to move across the hall to the Senate.

District 24 (59% D - 28% R)

Solis (D)	**66,362**	**(64)**
Boyer (R)	33,767	(32)
Feger (L)	4,518	(4)

First-term Assemblywoman Hilda Solis got a chance to move up immediately when Art Torres abandoned the San Gabriel Valley district to run for insurance commissioner. Her only real challenge was in the primary, against Azusa Mayor Eugene Moses, and that was almost as easy as her victory against Republican Dave Boyer.

District 26 (80% D - 10% R)

Watson (D)*	**106,165**	**(84)**
Piechowski (R)	16,729	(13)
Weber (L)	2,752	(2)
Saededdin (P)	1,626	(1)

Only term-limits will be able to dynamite Diane Watson from her Senate seat.

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District 28 (53% D - 33% R)

Dills (D)*	**84,899**	**(51)**
Cohen (R)	72,067	(43)
Donner (L)	5,454	(3)
Henderson (P)	5,970	(4)

He billed himself as "Too Old to Quit," but the return of Ralph Dills to the state Senate may have been more of a case of being too well-connected to be dumped. Dills withstood an expensive and bloody primary with Torrance Councilman George Nakano, and Republicans saw him as an inviting target in a district that only marginally favored Democrats. Republican David Cohen was widely viewed as a good candidate to run against the aged incumbent. A dynamic attorney with close ties to the area's Samoan population, the half-Jewish, half-Samoan Cohen ran a biting campaign stressing Dills' long term in office, pointing out that had term limits been in effect when the incumbent was originally elected, he would have been out of office during World War II. Cohen also accused Dills of living in Sacramento, rather than in the district, and said incumbent was supported almost exclusively by out-of-district special interests. The campaign turned ugly several weeks out, after Cohen distributed an absentee ballot mailer accusing Dills of illegally receiving a legislative pension while still in office. The charge was untrue, and Cohen apologized, chalking the mistake up to a research error. But Dills threatened to sue for libel, and sent out photocopies of the lawsuit as a mailer. This was part of a barrage of mailers sent out by Dills in the last two weeks, several of which said that Cohen was a "deadbeat," having loaned his campaign money even though he had outstanding student loans. Cohen, who is not delinquent in any loan payments, threatened a countersuit, and sent out a final mailer addressing the charge. Like most of Dills' recent campaigns, the race eventually came down to dollars. The incumbent was heavily supported by a long list of corporate, gambling and tobacco PACs that gave him a substantial fund-raising advantage over Cohen. These dollars translated into votes.

District 29 (41% D - 46% R)

Hester (D)	58,065	(33)
Mountjoy (R)	**104,469**	**(60)**
Piazza (L)	8,168	(5)
Sheasby (G)	4,250	(2)

This conservative district covering the northeast corner of the San Gabriel Valley came open earlier this summer when Whittier GOP Senator Frank Hill resigned after being convicted on political corruption charges. The open special election that ensued was a high-priced mudfest involving two sitting Assembly members — Republicans Richard Mountjoy and Paul Horcher — and the Republican former mayor of Diamond Bar, Gary Miller. The race appeared initially to be a grudge match between Mountjoy and Horcher, but Miller, a developer, pumped more than $400,000 of his own money into the campaign. Most of his assault was directed at Mountjoy, who had an edge in name identification because of his long service in the Assembly. Both Mountjoy and Horcher were aided by expenditures from outside organizations, and Mountjoy also was helped by his co-authorship of the immigration initiative, Proposition 187. In the end, Mountjoy got 45 percent of the vote — more than enough to insure a spot in the November runoff against Democrat Sandy Hester. Although he was forced to explain why he was on the ballot both in this race and in his Assembly re-election campaign, Mountjoy was better financed than Hester, and the registration numbers overwhelmingly favored the Republican nominee, whomever it might have been. Mountjoy's victory in this race and his Assembly campaign offers a strange irony: a legislator who supports term-limits temporarily holding two elected offices at the same time.

District 30 (65% D - 24% R)

Calderon (D)*	**66,101**	**(68)**
Gow (R)	31,038	(32)

This district covering the communities just east of downtown Los Angeles is another drawn to favor a Latino, and heavy Democratic registration made it easy pickings for incumbent Charles Calderon. Calderon's influence in the Senate has been steadily on the rise, and next year he will chair the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee.

District 32 (52% D - 37% R)

Ayala (D)*	**74,049**	**(61)**
deVries (R)	47,995	(39)

Despite the GOP tide, Democrat Ruben Ayala was able to coast to his sixth term in the Senate.

District 34 (47% D - 42% R)

Chessen (D)	41,197	(37)
Hurtt (R)*	**64,693**	**(57)**
Reimer (L)	6,990	(6)

Incumbent Rob Hurtt doesn't have the best district for a Republican in Orange County. It's not a bad district, just not the best, given that the neighboring 33rd and 35th both enjoy GOP registration in excess of 53 percent. The 34th, however, contains the bulk of Orange County's minority population. Hurtt is the chairman of the Senate Republicans' campaign committee, charged with increasing his caucus' numbers in the upper house. He also is one of the driving forces behind the conservative Allied Business PAC, which dumped hundreds of thousands of dollars into various GOP campaign coffers in 1994. As a result, Democrats wanted badly to cause mischief in Hurtt's back yard. And although Democratic businesswoman Donna Chessen mounted a spirited campaign, the incumbent was never in trouble. He was helped in part by the Assembly campaigns that raged around him, especially in the 69th District contest for an open seat vacated by Democrat Tom Umberg, who left to run for attorney general. There, Republican businessman Jim Morrissey ran an energetic campaign, fueled in large measure by Allied money — a campaign that appealed to many of the area's blue-collar "Reagan Democrats" who also voted for Hurtt. Hurtt now returns to Sacramento where his next major contest could pit him against Fresno moderate Ken Maddy for supremacy among Senate Republicans.

District 36 (38% D - 50% R)

Ceniceros (D)	83,370	(42)
Haynes (R)	**109,567**	**(55)**
Sarosi (L)	6,852	(3)

The ground in this Riverside County district has been shifting out from under Democrats for the better part of a decade, which is one reason incumbent Democrat Bob Presley decided to end his 20-year legislative career and run for the Board of Equalization. Conservative Assemblyman Ray Haynes, who ran a strong race against Presley in 1990 and was elected to the Assembly in 1992, declared for this seat even before Presley decided to leave, then defeated moderate Republican Cois Byrd, the Riverside County sheriff, in the GOP primary. Democrats nominated Riverside County Supervisor Kay Ceniceros, although few gave her much of a chance against such daunting registration and a candidate who has been a poster boy for such right-wing groups as Allied Business PAC. The area itself not only is Republican, but conservative Republican — and Haynes fits the profile like

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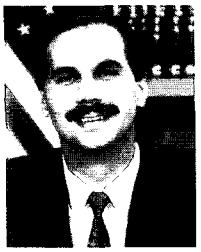

Haynes

Ceniceros

a body glove. Still, Haynes proved to be his own worst enemy. He sparked headlines by using a public forum to accuse Democratic congressional candidate Mark Takano of being a homosexual without offering any proof. But a 12-point registration advantage is comfortable even when the winds are blowing against you. When that wind is a gale at your back, you coast.

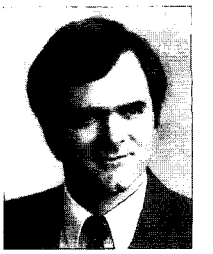
District 38 (31% D - 52% R)		
Berry (D)	56,382	(26)
Craven (R)*	**144,103**	**(66)**
Anderson (L)	10,439	(5)
Nikl (PF)	9,059	(4)

Despite a late-campaign gaffe, four-term incumbent Republican Bill Craven won an easy re-election. In early October, Craven was quoted as suggesting that every Latino would have to carry an ID card should Proposition 187 pass. When outrage over the suggestion mounted, Craven said that he had been misquoted; instead, he said, everyone would have to carry such a card. In so Republican a district, none of it mattered.

District 40 (49% D - 37% R)		
Peace (D)*	**71,392**	**(48)**
Ghougassian (R)	66,228	(45)
Gibbs (L)	4,404	(3)
Pelayo (PF)	5,835	(4)

Calm does not follow in the wake of incumbent Democrat Steve Peace, seeking his first full term in the Senate after winning a special election last December to replace Democrat Waddie Deddeh. Thus, this race proved contentious and cantankerous from start to finish. The start really was the special election, where Peace and Ghougassian squared off in a race best characterized as nasty, brutish and not short enough. The rancor continued throughout 1994, with Ghougassian, a former ambassador to the Mideast nation of Qatar, constantly on the attack. At one point, the Republican accused Peace of shoving him after a joint appearance before a local chapter of the AARP. The chapter eventually sent out letters to those in attendance — and to Peace — apologizing for *Ghougassian's* behavior. He had launched a personal attack on Peace when ground rules for the event stipulated that both candidates stick to issues involving seniors. Both campaigns spent heavily, but even a week before the election, Democrats openly worried about Peace's future. He nosed through on Election Day, but the race proved much closer than the special election.

Ghougassian


Peace

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Assembly

District 1 (53% D - 31% R)

Hauser (D)*	**81,992**	**(61)**
Baird (R)	45,202	(34)
Harris (L)	6,792	(5)

It's swan song time for Democrat Dan Hauser, who is returning to the Assembly for his seventh and final term. Considering the trouncing he gave Republican challenger John Baird, it's hard to believe Democrats were once worried about this north coast district. While Hauser proved once again to be the popular favorite, his Democratic primary opponent, Karen Scott, made a solid showing last June, with about one-third of the vote. Look for Scott to build on that first effort by going for the seat in 1996, perhaps facing Baird, chairman of Mendocino County Republican Central Committee.

District 2 (43% D - 44% R)

Bainbridge (D)	40,577	(33)
Woods (R)	**77,841**	**(63)**
Schwartz (L)	5,281	(4)

The Northern California midlanders are not about to run afoul of their conservative instincts. They sent Republican Tom Woods to fill the shoes of his one-time boss, former Assemblyman Stan Statham. Woods, whose vote-getting was on par with Democrat James Bainbridge in the primary, picked up the Republican votes that went to his party primary opponent, Burt Bundy. The former inspirational radio host Woods got some financial assistance from the Right to Life PAC and the Allied Business PAC.

District 3 (42% D - 43% R)

Chapman (D)	46,498	(37)
Richter (R)*	**80,380**	**(63)**

A slight increase in Republican registration this fall didn't hurt incumbent Bernie Richter, who was headed for certain victory anyway over Democrat Jim Chapman, a former supervisor in Lassen County. One-time Butte county supervisor and business owner Richter, also a former Democrat, will head back to the Capitol to resurrect his failed effort last session to abolish affirmative action in favor of a "color-blind" society.

District 4 (40% D - 47% R)

Fish (D)	42,776	(31)
Knowles (R)*	**90,196**	**(65)**
Smith (L)	6,092	(4)

From Placer to Alpine, the conservative voice called loudly to return incumbent David Knowles to the Assembly for his third and final term.

District 5 (44% D - 44% R)

Barry (D)	49,451	(40)
Alby (R)*	**75,178**	**(60)**

This traditional Republican seat stayed Republican. Incumbent Barbara Alby once again defeated Democrat Joan Barry, who had challenged Alby in a 1993 special election and who also had challenged the late Assemblyman B.T. Collins in 1992.

District 6 (54% D - 30% R)

Mazzoni (D)	**85,553**	**(61)**
Sobel (R)	51,117	(37)
Persily (P)	3,417	(3)

The toughest part of Kerry Mazzoni's battle was won in the primary, when she defeated incumbent Vivien Bronshvag by less than a thousand votes. As the only challenger to unseat an incumbent in the primary this year, the Novato school board member will now join her somewhat somber caucus in Sacramento.

District 7 (56% D - 32% R)

V.Brown (D)*	**66,984**	**(59)**
Williams (R)	44,706	(39)
Sutley (PF)	2,884	(3)

Valerie Brown has had a relatively easy ride in this district since the start. Republican Roger Williams did a little better this year than did the GOP challenger in 1992, but he still couldn't muster enough oomph to give her a real scare.

District 8 (53% D - 33% R)

Hannigan (D)*	**59,024**	**(55)**
Stocking (R)	47,839	(45)

Tom Hannigan's margin of victory slipped considerably from 1992, but not enough to keep him out of Sacramento.

District 9 (65% D - 24% R)

Isenberg (D)*	**64,951**	**(70)**
Lofton (R)	28,054	(30)

Proving his status once again as a favored delegate, incumbent Phil Isenberg has been sent back to the Assembly for his seventh and final term.

District 10 (46% D - 43% R)

Wishnick (D)	47,352	(38)
Bowler (R)*	**73,506**	**(59)**
Rakus (AI)	4,641	(4)

Democrat Kathleen Wishnick made a serious run for this seat held by incumbent Republican Larry Bowler, a former sheriff's lieutenant. But serious didn't even get her close to party registration in suburban Sacramento, even if she did have help from the California Teachers Association. Bowler returns for a second term.

District 11 (55% D - 31% R)

Campbell (D)*	**79,318**	**(83)**
Coughlan (PF)	16,760	(17)

Bob Campbell's seventh term is his last. Maybe in 1996, with Campbell out because of term limits, Republicans will find a candidate.

District 12 (61% D -19% R)

Burton (D)*	**66,797**	**(71)**
Wing (R)	22,827	(24)
Sherwood (L)	4,707	(5)

This wasn't as lively as John Burton's last election, when his opponent tried to have Burton's name knocked off the ballot for not residing in the district.

District 13 (65% D - 15% R)

W.Brown (D)*	**75,238**	**(73)**
Wolin (R)	20,211	(20)
Pickens (L)	7,810	(8)

His own re-election was the least of (former?) Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr.'s problems on Election Night.

District 14 (71% D - 12% R)

Bates (D)*	**89,247**	**(79)**
Anderson (R)	17,305	(15)
Chapot (G)	7,009	(6)

Tom Bates is back for his final term.

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District 15 (39% D - 48% R)

Kearns (D)	45,143	(33)
Rainey (R)*	**93,641**	**(68)**

Richard Rainey, a former Contra Costa sheriff, won his second term, and although a Republican, he may still be in the minority. Rainey is a moderate Republican in a majority caucus dominated by conservatives.

District 16 (70% D - 16% R)

Lee (D)*	**61,839**	**(81)**
Hamme-Lamme (R)	14,573	(19)

Challenger Andre-Tascha Hamme-Lamme drew plenty of ribbing for the name, but not nearly enough votes.

District 17 (53% D - 37% R)

Machado (D)	**38,668**	**(51)**
Simas (R)	36,904	(49)

Machado

Simas

Democrat Mike Machado bucked the GOP tide, with his slim 1764-vote victory over Republican Ed Simas, thus allowing Democrats to snatch back the seat once held by the likes of now-Senator Pat Johnston. For the past few years, it's been in the hands of Republican Dean Andal, who won it by beating terminally unpopular Democrat Patti Garamendi in a special election, then winning re-election over Machado himself in 1992. But Andal ran for the Board of Equalization, and the door was again opened for Machado. Republicans wanted to hold on and gave big to San Joaquin County Supervisor Simas, as did big-money Allied Business PAC, which bankrolled him with contributions and loans exceeding $100,000. Meanwhile, Machado's coffers were pumped with money from Assembly Democrats. Both candidates were on television during the final frantic weeks, mostly with negative messages about the other guy. In the end, however, Simas could not quite outrun the Democratic registration edge.

District 18 (60% D - 26% R)

Sweeney (D)	**63,608**	**(70)**
Grundmann (R)	27,691	(30)

Hayward Mayor Mike Sweeney moves into the seat vacated by former Assemblyman Johan Klehs, who was elected to the Board of Equalization.

District 19 (55% D - 30% R)

Speier (D)*	**88,162**	**(93)**
Reichard (PF)	6,690	(7)

The Republican tide never even spilled a drop in this South Bay district.

District 20 (50% D - 33% R)

Figueroa (D)	**43,431**	**(50)**
Haggerty (R)	37,774	(43)
Savage (L)	6,065	(7)

This seat, which Delaine Eastin left to make a successful run for schools' chief, is marginal for a Democrat, despite the 17-point registration edge. As if that wasn't enough, Democrat Liz Figueroa's primary opponent — Milpitas Councilman Bob Livengood — endorsed the Republican, Scott Haggerty. Figueroa also had to overcome charges that she and her husband had 25 liens put on their home because of $250,000 in unpaid state and federal taxes. Haggerty, making his first run for public office, said he was inspired to run by watching television coverage of the Polly Klass kidnapping, and based his entire campaign on a pro-three-strikes theme. All of that wasn't enough to deny the Fremont businesswoman a seat in the Assembly, but watch for Haggerty to return in 1996.

District 21 (40% D - 36% R)

Sher (D)*	**70,334**	**(63)**
Mills (R)	41,668	(37)

This could prove a frustrating final term for Byron Sher, the Stanford law professor who is the Democrats' number-one environmental champion. Shorn of his committee chairmanship, Sher could be a helpless witness as a GOP-dominated Assembly passes bills more friendly to industry than to kangaroo rats.

District 22 (49% D - 34% R)

Vasconcellos (D)*	**52,354**	**(56)**
Dowdy (R)	41,025	(44)

Long-term incumbent John Vasconcellos could be one of the big losers, even though he was returned to office for the fifteenth time. If the GOP takes over the Assembly, Vasconcellos loses his chairmanship of Ways and Means.

District 23 (60% D - 24% R)

Cortese (D)*	**33,770**	**(64)**
Jewett (R)	14,575	(28)
Fitzgerald (G)	4,260	(8)

Incumbent Dominic Cortese returns to Sacramento.

District 24 (44% D - 41% R)

Foglia (D)	55,886	(49)
Cunneen (R)	**59,065**	**(51)**

Cunneen

This was an unusual race down to the last second. Registration favors Republicans but a strong Democratic candidate could take the election under the right circumstances. Democrat Ed Foglia seemed to have the upper hand at first. A former president of the California Teachers' Association, he seemed to have both name recognition and money. But Republican Jim Cunneen ran a strong campaign, buffeted along by GOP winds statewide. Towards the end, the mudslinging began: Foglia put Cunneen's resume in the spotlight, questioning his opponent's integrity, and Cunneen responded with a hit piece showing Foglia with a long, Pinocchio-like nose. Cunneen now replaces Republican Charles Quackenbush, who was elected insurance commissioner.

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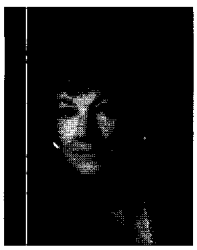
District 25 (47% D - 42% R)

Snyder (D)*	47,269	(43)
House (R)	**60,832**	**(55)**
Segalla (L)	3,055	(3)



Snyder

House

GOP ambush of the year. As little as one month before the election, some Republicans privately were disparaging their own candidate, and the Assembly caucus had virtually written off the race. After all, incumbent rookie Margaret Snyder was no bleeding-heart liberal but a conservative who had gained an "A" rating from the NRA. But during that last month, as the size of the national GOP surge began to manifest itself in California, Republicans decided to go for the jugular, and this contest was deemed winnable. A budget for victory was drawn up, and the caucus dumped $220,000 to into conservative George House's campaign during the final week. Prior to that, House had barely $4000 cash-on-hand and was all but invisible. The late-arriving money revived his campaign and paid for a pair of hard-hitting mailers that bounced into district homes just as voters were beginning to focus on the election. Snyder, who out-campaigned and outraised House for months, was blindsided, and her Assembly colleagues were so stretched across the state that they couldn't help her.

District 26 (53% D - 35% R)

Cannella (D)*	**37,889**	**(53)**
Thomas (R)	29,915	(42)
Parks (L)	3,351	(5)

Incumbent Sal Cannella did not have an active Republican opponent until late September when Greg Thomas fired up his campaign. The candidate was a write-in on the June primary ballot with a district-record 3000 votes. A member of the Republican Central Committee, Thomas' late entry paralleled the 1992 effort of his brother-in-law, Cliff Burris, who ran a write-in campaign against moderate Democrat Gary Condit for Congress. Cannella didn't break a sweat, although Thomas did manage to get 42 percent of the vote.

District 27 (51% D - 31% R)

Monning (D)	55,511	(47)
McPherson (R)*	**58,138**	**(50)**
Welch (L)	3,307	(3)

Looking at the registration numbers, this district would seem like a sure bet for a Democrat. But former *Santa Cruz Sentinel* editor Bruce McPherson was able to snatch it away in a special election last year to replace Democrat Sam Farr, who had moved on to Congress. McPherson, a moderate, was helped by the fact that his Democratic opponent in the special was seen as too liberal even for a district that includes Santa Cruz. This time around, Democrat Bill Monning also was thought to be too liberal, but as the campaign went on, his views seemed to soften and he sounded a lot like McPherson. As a result, the final tally was closer than had been expected.

District 28 (52% D - 34% R)

Cervantes (D)	39,122	(50)
Frusetta (R)	**39,861**	**(51)**

Cervantes

Frusetta

With this district may have gone the Democrats' hold on the Assembly and, tangentially, Willie Brown's speakership. Yes, other Democrats lost, including incumbents, but this district should have stayed in the Democratic column. The registration edge was comfortable, and a good portion of that edge was built on the district's 46 percent Latino population. That should have been enough for Latina attorney and coastal commissioner Lily Cervantes. Unfortunately, the Latino community did not vote in any great number. In addition, the critical mass building around Proposition 187 may have sparked a backlash among Anglo voters, including the moderate, relatively affluent rural Democrats who live outside the district's Latino enclaves. Republican Peter Frusetta, a rancher who lost to Democrat Rusty Areias two years ago, more closely fit the profile of those voters and siphoned off enough of them to eke out a narrow victory on Election Day. Although all absentee ballots had not been counted by press time, the chances that that count would throw the election to Cervantes seemed remote.

District 29 (44% D - 46% R)

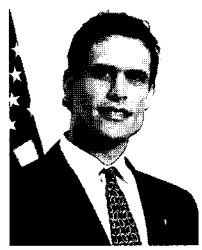
O'Hare (D)	33,923	(32)
Poochigian (R)	**71698**	**(68)**

The edge in this Fresno district has always gone to Charles Poochigian, who assumes the seat vacated by Secretary of State-elect Bill Jones. The well-connected Poochigian and one-time appointments secretary to Governor Pete Wilson raised plenty of money with help from a fellow Armenian, former Governor George Deukmejian. Fresno school trustee Michael O'Hare was waging an uphill battle in this traditionally conservative area.

District 30 (55% D - 35% R)

Batrich (D)	28,000	(47)
Setencich (R)	**31,764**	**(53)**

Batrich



Setencich

Voter registration in this Central Valley district is misleading. Republicans George Bush and Bruce Herschensohn both carried it against the Democratic tide of 1992, and some observers have felt for years that the only thing that kept the seat Democratic was the popularity of longtime incumbent Jim Costa. Thus, when Costa left to run for the state Senate, the GOP put the district on its target list. Both parties weighed in heavily with cash and services. Costa's former legislative aide and a former congressional aide, Bryn Batrich, was a conservative Democrat who drew support from some of the area's wealthy and influential Republicans. The Democratic caucus chipped in with well over $100,000 in the last month. But a flood of cash — $123,000 — from Assembly Minority Leader Jim Brulte in the campaign's final two weeks helped Brian Setencich pay the bills and get some mail to voters at the right time. As a result, Setencich ran 18 points ahead of registration, while Batrich ran eight points behind. Batrich may also have been hurt by what appears to be a low turnout among Latinos, who make up

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nearly half the district.

District 31 (61% D - 29% R)

Bustamante (D)*	**30,182**	**(58)**
Peterson (R)	21,988	(42)

Republicans didn't take incumbent Cruz Bustamante's district away from him, but their candidate — Tulare County sheriff's deputy Glen Peterson — came through with a credible performance, running 13 points ahead of GOP registration. The district is 52 percent Latino, and once again, Latinos didn't vote in any great number. Bustamante first won this seat in a 1993 special election to replace his old boss, Democrat Bruce Bronzan, who left to enter the education field.

District 32 (41% D - 49% R)

Keally (D)	28,621	(29)
Harvey (R)*	**69,672**	**(71)**

Returning for his fifth and final term, Republican incumbent Trice Harvey was returned to office with an extra pinch for luck. Registration for his party increased two points this fall, although he hardly needed it.

District 33 (43% D - 44% R)

Ashbaugh (D)	41,901	(38)
Bordonaro (R)	**64,884**	**(59)**
Kirkland (L)	4,218	(4)

Though there isn't a huge difference in registration numbers in this district, it was thought back in June that Tom Bordonaro would have no trouble taking the seat left by Andrea Seastrand, who ran for Congress this year. John Ashbaugh himself didn't put up a big fight for the seat, but he indirectly benefited from the voter registration efforts mounted by Assemblyman Jack O'Connell, a Democratic candidate for state Senate. The change in numbers was enough to scare the Republican caucus into dumping a lot of money into Bordonaro's coffer at the last minute. It probably wasn't needed, but it was enough to iron out a few furrowed brows in Sacramento and turn this district back to a sure bet.

District 34 (38% D - 47% R)

Hauk (D)	32,994	(34)
Olberg (R)	**63,014**	**(66)**

The 34th covers more territory than any other Assembly district in California, and registration in every part of it favors Republicans. Thus, the contest to succeed one-term incumbent Republican Kathleen Honeycutt was decided in the June GOP primary where Victorville business consultant Keith Olberg scored an impressive win over a Victorville councilman. The general election was strictly downhill for the 32-year-old Olberg.

District 35 (47% D - 37% R)

Lorenz (D)	49,638	(42)
Firestone (R)	**63,379**	**(54)**
Blunt (L)	2,405	(2)
Stafford (G)	2,614	(2)

If vintner Brooks Firestone was a less charismatic guy, or if he had wanted this seat just a little bit less, Green-turned-Democratic candidate Mindy Lorenz would have had a fighting chance. But voters were constantly exposed to Firestone's presence in parades and at community outings, while Lorenz was too busy with fund raisers to be out on the street. Firestone's campaign office, smack-dab in the middle of downtown Santa Barbara and staffed with college students, seemed to belong more to a liberal-leaning candidate. Firestone now takes over the district he assumed he would win back in 1982, when he ran for an open seat against an unknown high school teacher named Jack O'Connell.

District 36 (35% D - 51% R)

Hutchins (D)	23,710	(25)
Knight (R)*	**66,861**	**(70)**
Fussell (L)	5,386	(6)

This northern Antelope Valley district, which includes Palmdale and Lancaster, could have been written for an iconoclastic former military man like incumbent William "Pete" Knight. Knight got some unwelcome scrutiny early in his first term for circulating a poem about immigrants that he thought was funny, but Latinos considered racist. The flap did not appreciably affect the outcome in one of the more heavily Republican districts in the state.

District 37 (40% D - 45% R)

Maron (D)	27,953	(31)
Takasugi (R)*	**57,372**	**(64)**
Harner (L)	4,206	(5)

Highly regarded freshman Nao Takasugi is the only Asian-American in the Legislature and will remain so in January.

District 38 (41% D - 46% R)

Arce (D)	25,789	(26)
Boland (R)*	**65,892**	**(67)**
Wilken (G)	7,087	(7)

Democrats generally have little chance of winning in this conservative district nestled in the northwestern San Fernando Valley. If incumbent Paula Boland had needed any help, she got it when the Democrats nominated an 18-year-old UCLA student, Josh Arce. With his best friend from school as his campaign manager, Arce worked hard enough to capture the nod against an older Democratic foe. Two days after his primary win, he was back in class taking a final. Boland taught him a different kind of lesson in the general, but Arce's work ethic could pay dividends down the road, assuming he lives in a district more favorable to Democrats.

District 39 (62% D - 26% R)

Katz (D)*	**31,190**	**(71)**
Fitzgerald (R)	12,994	(29)

This eastern San Fernando Valley district could easily elect a Latino two years from now, when incumbent Richard Katz retires thanks to term limits.

District 40 (56% D - 30% R)

B.Friedman (D)*	**40,546**	**(58)**
Degaetano (R)	25,452	(36)
Ross (L)	4,201	(6)

Incumbent Democrat Barbara Friedman considered making a run for the San Fernando Valley Senate seat vacated by former Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. At the last minute, however, she decided to pass in favor of a return ticket to the Assembly. The district, which lies in the heart of the San Fernando Valley, is not quite as liberal as its incumbent. Friedman is a hard worker, however, and Democratic registration is favorable enough to scare off any serious Republican challenge.

District 41 (51% D - 36% R)

Kuehl (D)	**67,565**	**(56)**
Meehan (R)	49,712	(41)
Baron (L)	3,691	(3)

On paper, this district figures to be competitive for Republicans, as it joins sections of liberal Santa Monica and Malibu with more conservative voters in Woodland Hills. Historically, the district has voted more Democratically than even its registration suggests, allowing outgoing incumbent Terry Friedman to comfortably win re-election two years ago. With Friedman moving on to run for a judgeship, the GOP still might have had a shot, but their first choice — 1992 challenger Christine Reed — passed on the race for health reasons. They were left with law student and reserve deputy Michael Meehan, who proved no match for a

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Democrat who proved to be something of a powerhouse. Sheila James Kuehl is a law professor, an advocate for civil rights and family law, and co-founder of the California Women's Law Center. As if that kind of resume wasn't enough, Kuehl also had celebrity appeal. Those whose television memories run in black-and-white know Kuehl as "Zelda Gilroy," the brainy, would-be paramour of TV's *"Dobie Gillis."* Kuehl was as tireless a candidate as Zelda was a suitor, and she beat a primary field of five men with solid fund raising and organization. She continued to rake in the dollars in the fall campaign, while Meehan's shoestring campaign had to rely on organizational help from nearby congressional and Senate campaigns. Ironically, the one issue that was not prominently raised is the very issue that has already assured Kuehl's place in California history. With her victory, Kuehl becomes the first open homosexual to serve in the state Legislature.

District 42 (60% D - 25% R)

Knox (D)	**65,089**	**(64)**
Davis (R)	31,953	(31)
Fine (L)	4,905	(5)

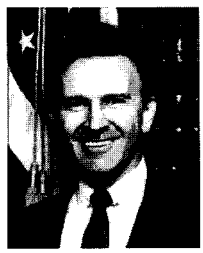
This district includes Beverly Hills and West Hollywood and is a haven of "limousine liberals." One candidate said it has "more ambitious Democrats per square inch than any other district in the state." It was not surprising, therefore, to find that it produced the most expensive primary in the state — the seven Democrats vying for the seat spent a combined total of nearly $1.5 million. Roughly a third of that was spent by attorney Wally Knox, who drained his bank account to bankroll his bid to replace outgoing Assemblyman Burt Margolin. Despite the district's liberal leanings, Knox won a plurality in part by touting a relatively moderate, anti-crime agenda. The strategy worked, as Knox contrasted in voters' minds with the more traditional social liberals against whom he was running.

District 43 (46% D - 41% R)

Schiff (D)	33,494	(43)
Rogan (R)*	**41,407**	**(54)**
Michlin (L)	2,633	(3)

This is the third Assembly election this year for voters in this suburban district which includes Glendale. First was a May special election to fill the seat, which was vacated when Republican Pat Nolan pleaded guilty to political corruption charges. Aided by a light turnout and some crucial last-minute financial help from Sacramento, former Municipal Court Judge James Rogan won a majority of votes in the special, avoiding a runoff. While several Republicans had filed for both the special election and the June primary, all dropped out, allowing Rogan to husband his resources for the difficult general election fight. Democrat Adam

Schiff



Rogan

Schiff, a federal prosecutor, didn't fare well in the special election. He was more competitive in the fall campaign, highlighting support Rogan received from the conservative Allied Business PAC as evidence the incumbent is too conservative for the district. The strategy figured to bear some fruit, as the district had supported Bill Clinton, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer in 1992. That was a Democratic year, however. This is a Republican year. Rogan's mail highlighted his experience as a judge, and downplayed his conservatism. He was also helped by a late fund-raising surge, pulling in more than $120,000 in the last month of the campaign. The money enabled Rogan to stay ahead in the battle of the mailers. Still, Schiff was considered a promising enough challenger that he got a lot of financial help from Assembly Democrats, and he also benefited from a solid voter registration drive. Registration doesn't equal votes, however.

District 44 (45% D - 43% R)

Philpott (D)	44,457	(42)
Hoge (R)*	**55,293**	**(53)**
Saurenman (L)	5,387	(5)

The incumbent in this Pasadena-centered district, freshman Bill Hoge, was considered to be one of the few opportunities for Democrats to steal a seat from the GOP. Hoge, a staunch conservative, won with only 51 percent of the vote in 1992 despite even more favorable registration numbers. Hoge kept a low profile in his first term, both in Sacramento and in his district. Democrats, meanwhile, had what they con-

Hoge

Philpott

sidered a gem of a candidate in former Pasadena Police Chief Bruce Philpott. A 28-year veteran of the force, Philpott inoculated the Democrats from the generic anti-crime campaign run by most other Republicans this year. The campaign itself proved especially muddy. Hoge brought up a 1990 incident in which Philpott was stopped by Glendale police and, allegedly, berated the officer. Philpott, meanwhile, hammered away at Hoge's backers, particularly his extensive support from the state's gambling industry. Hoge clocked in with more than $140,000 in contributions from horse racing and gambling interests, surprising since there is nary a single race track or card room in his district. He also was the most prolific off-year fund raiser among the freshman class, scooping up more than $260,000 last year. The cash enabled Hoge to run his campaign by remote control, and he avoided most candidate forums and virtually all press inquiries. He did surface at the end, however, to lash back at a mailer sent out by Philpott's campaign the Friday before the election. The mailer was a letter from Hoge's ex-wife, suggesting he was a gambling addict. While it's possible the hit may have backlashed, Hoge was already starting to look a little more comfortable, and the heavy GOP turnout made him that much more so.

District 45 (63% D - 21% R)

Villaraigosa (D)	**26,373**	**(66)**
Jung (R)	10,922	(27)
Probst (L)	2,857	(7)

When current incumbent Richard Polanco decided to move over to the Senate, he tried to grease the skids for his field director, Bill Mabie. The only problem was, two other candidates wanted the job too. Since this East Los Angeles district is predominantly Latino, Polanco's bid to install an Anglo rubbed many of the district's voters the wrong way. It also pushed some hot buttons among Polanco's Sacramento colleagues, who had listened to his pleas for support of Latino candidates else-

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where. The prime beneficiary of these intrigues was Antonio Villaraigosa, whose community activism had given him better name recognition at the outset. Armed with a slew of endorsements and a good fund-raising base, Villaraigosa was more than a match for Mabie, who seemed only to have the backing of his patron, Polanco. As the only Democrat, and the only Latino in the campaign, the general election was far less expensive and difficult, as Villaraigosa rode registration to an easy win.

District 46 (67% D - 19% R)

Caldera (D)*	**14,548**	**(73)**
Yang (R)	4,111	(21)
Williams (PF)	1,245	(6)

Freshman incumbent Louis Caldera has impressed many of his Sacramento colleagues with his ability, maneuvering through a bill requiring that minors wear bicycle helmets. Representing another East Los Angeles district drawn to elect a Latino, the youthful-looking Caldera barely had to wrinkle his suit to insure a return trip for another two years. The district is a microcosm, however, of the failure of Democratic efforts to mobilize voters against Proposition 187. Registration was up in the heavily-Latino district, but when Election Day came, fewer than 20,000 total votes were cast. It didn't bother Caldera, but the trend, manifested elsewhere, cost Democrats control of the Assembly.

District 47 (76% D - 14% R)

K.Murray (D)	**59,826**	**(72)**
Leonard (R)	15,477	(19)
Murphy (L)	3,755	(5)
Taleebah (PF)	3,976	(5)

This district, which includes Culver City and the Crenshaw area, was the scene of perhaps the most competitive primary of the year. Nine Democrats signed up in hopes of succeeding longtime incumbent Gwen Moore, who moved on to an unsuccessful bid for secretary of state. Of the nine, six had genuine Democratic credentials and enough funding to at least be competitive at the outset. In the end, it was the candidate with the most direct Sacramento connections who emerged, as attorney Kevin Murray rode to victory with barely more than a fifth of the vote. Murray is the son of Assemblyman Willard Murray, who represents nearby Compton. The younger Murray and his father have built something of a small political machine in Los Angeles' African-American community, and their slate card is considered very influential in that community. Murray won the primary thanks to that slate mailer, the Sacramento connection, and his own roots in the district. Once the primary was over, it was more or less cruise control for Murray, who faced only token Republican opposition. When he's sworn in next month, Murray will take his place alongside his father Willard, the first father-son team to serve together in the Legislature.

District 48 (87% D - 5% R)

Archie-Hudson (D)* 32,145 (100)

Republicans are so scarce in this South-Central district that they couldn't even scare one up to run against incumbent Marguerite Archie-Hudson, who occupies the seat once held by Maxine Waters.

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District 49 (61% D - 25% R)

Martinez (D)*	**36,120**	**(67)**
Nirschl (R)	15,476	(29)
Goldworthy (L)	2,089	(4)

Freshman incumbent Dianne Martinez had barely gotten her seat warm after her election two years ago before she became a controversial figure. The daughter of Congressman Marty Martinez, she earned appointment as chair of the Assembly's Elections and Reapportionment Committee and immediately began rubbing just about everyone in Sacramento the wrong way. Her endorsement of Republican Richard Riordan for mayor of Los Angeles also irritated some activists in her San Gabriel Valley district, which includes Monterey Park and Alhambra. The result of all this was a spirited challenge from Monterey Park Councilwoman Judy Chu, who used heavy funding from the Asian community to attack Martinez' first-term record in Sacramento. The attacks fell short in a district that was drawn to elect a Latino, however, and Martinez beat Chu by 20 points. With the primary battle over, there wasn't much left to discuss.

District 50 (68% D - 19% R)

Escutia (D)*	**21,438**	**(75)**
Miller (R)	6,356	(22)
Strowiss (PF)	953	(3)

First-termer Martha Escutia was so unconcerned about the re-election battle that she actually scheduled her wedding during the fall campaign. The serious Escutia represents the most heavily Latino district in the state. She is considered a good bet to move into the post-term-limits hierarchy in the Assembly.

District 51 (72% D - 17% R)

Tucker (D)*	**42,389**	**(70)**
Michelin (R)	18,230	(30)

This Inglewood-centered district has been in the Tucker family for decades. Curtis Tucker Sr. held it through the '70s and into the '80s, and when he died, the seat was won by his son, Curtis Tucker Jr. There was no contest for Tucker in the primary, and almost none in the general election, as African-American politicians dominate the district.

District 52 (80% D - 11% R)

W.Murray (D)*	**37,849**	**(81)**
Rorex (R)	8,729	(19)

Incumbent Willard Murray has become something of a force in Los Angeles' African-American political community. Representing a 90 percent minority district that includes Watts and Gardena, Murray has not only maintained a hold on his own Assembly seat, but has also built a small political fiefdom that includes an increasingly influential slate mailer. Murray is viewed with suspicion by some within Black political circles because of his opposition to gun control and the corresponding support he receives from the National Rifle Association. Murray will enjoy a special treat in the coming term, as he will serve alongside his son, Kevin, who won the 47th District.

District 53 (43% D - 41% R)

Bowen (D)*	**57,799**	**(51)**
Sirull (R)	50,542	(44)
Gaillard (L)	3,205	(3)
Bishop (PF)	2,388	(2)

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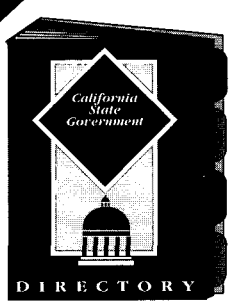

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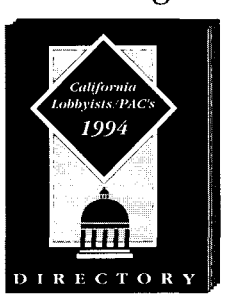

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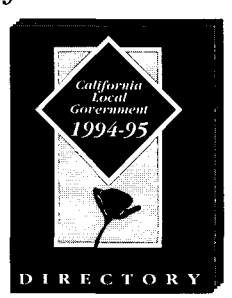

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had to break a sweat. Despite registration figures that make the district hospitable to Republicans, GOP challenger Julian Sirull never managed to raise more than $20,000 for his campaign. Bowen did win, but with only a six-point margin of victory. The incumbent took no chances, sending out several negative mailers painting Sirull as a far-right candidate hostile to abortion rights, and tied to pro-gun interests. Sirull, who is pro-choice, did not have enough money to respond with another mailer of his own, took out a newspaper ad in an attempt to set the record straight. Bowen's slim victory would have been larger if the election year had been less Republican.

District 54 (46% D - 41% R)

Karnette (D)*	54,047	(47)
Kuykendall (R)	**54,530**	**(48)**
Carlan (L)	3,878	(3)
McCoy (PF)	2,296	(2)

When moderate Republican Steve Kuykendall beat primary opponent Jeff Earle in the GOP primary, everyone expected a battle with Democratic incumbent Betty Karnette. The district's registration is favorable to Republicans, both candidates were squarely in the center of the spectrum, and the year's mood was moving solidly to the right. Few expected control of the state Assembly to hang in the balance, but that's exactly what happened. When Election Day counting was finished, the grandmotherly Karnette sat atop a molecule-thin 64-vote margin. Assembly Republican Leader Jim Brulte flatly declared that absentees would put Kuykendall over the top, and he proved correct, giving the GOP the 41st vote it had coveted for decades. The race itself was quiet until the end. Kuykendall followed his successful primary strategy of combining low-key fund raising with tireless precinct walking, then hitting hard in the mail at the end. The strategy was at risk when he ran out of money, but a $125,000 bailout from Philip Morris' PAC kept him in district mailboxes to the end, attacking Karnette's liberal voting record. Karnette released a few mailers early, following up with several in the final days, pointing out Kuykendall's past votes to raise taxes on the Rancho Palos Verdes city council. Karnette had plenty of funds available from the California Teachers Association, which had helped her steal the seat two years ago, as well as from Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. Karnette's closeness in the race is a testament to her relatively moderate politics, but the fact remains that, as a result of her defeat, the fat lady is warming up on the Willie Brown speakership.

Karnette

Kuykendall

District 55 (69% D - 19% R)

McDonald (D)*	**40,627**	**(81)**
Dalton (L)	9,695	(19)

When reapportionment created a largely minority district in the Carson-

advertisement

MEMO

To: **Advertisers, Associations, Corporate Affairs Officers, etc.**

From: ***California Journal***

Re: **OPPORTUNITY!**

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Wilmington area, the first race in 1992 featured not one but two incumbents, both of them Anglo, in the Democratic primary. While Assembly members Dave Elder and Richard Floyd took after each other, Juanita McDonald sneaked in under the radar screen and beat them both. This year, McDonald, who chairs the Assembly's Higher Education Committee, was so secure in the heavily Democratic district that she didn't even attract a Republican opponent.

District 56 (51% D - 37% R)

Epple (D)*	38,195	(43)
Hawkins (R)	**47,573**	**(54)**
Hays (L)	2,984	(3)

Epple

Hawkins

Sometimes a practice run pays off. Republican Phil Hawkins, who lost to Democrat Bob Epple in 1992 by a razor-thin margin, walked past the incumbent this year with an overwhelming victory. From the beginning of the campaign season, Epple had been at the top of the Republicans' hit list. Hawkins received substantial amounts of money from the state party, as well as from the conservative Allied Business PAC. With plenty of funds, he put out a stream of mailers over the last two weeks, painting the incumbent as weak on crime, and as a liberal in Willie Brown's pocket. Epple was responsible for delaying the original three-strikes bill, Hawkins said, and made it difficult to pass other important crime legislation. Independent mailers from several sources, including the Crime Victims United PAC, reinforced the message. A last-minute rally with Governor Pete Wilson the day before the election helped bring out supporters. Epple tried to counter Hawkins' criticism by bolstering his crime credentials. His mailers pointed to the votes he had taken, touted his co-authorship of the three-strikes bill, and one even tied him to Wilson, with a "Wilson and Epple, tough on crime" theme. But the weakness on the crime issue undid Epple. With crime victims demonstrating against him in the district, and a stream of opposition mailers defining him convincingly as an obstacle to the year's tough-on-crime mood, his thin 1992 margin disappeared.

District 57 (57% D - 30% R)

Gallegos (D)	**31,351**	**(62)**
Yik (R)	17,018	(34)
Argall (L)	2,260	(4)

The race for this eastern San Gabriel Valley district took place largely in the primary, which pitted Baldwin Park Councilman Martin Gallegos against Tony Fellows. Fellows had the backing of former Assemblywoman Sally Tanner, who once represented the area, but Gallegos had help from outgoing incumbent Hilda Solis. That plus strong Latino registration helped Gallegos across the wire. The general election proved much easier, as Republican Frank Yik had neither the money nor the registration to be competitive.

District 58 (64% D - 26% R)

Napolitano (D)*	**40,805**	**(59)**
Marymee (R)	22,980	(33)
McCready (L)	4,987	(7)

This eastern Los Angeles County district includes Norwalk and Montebello and is strongly Democratic. Freshman incumbent Grace Napolitano survived a bloody Democratic primary two years ago to win the seat. Sailing was much smoother this time, as she had no primary opponent and an underfunded general election foe. Republican James Marymee did, however, provide a snappy catchphrase for his campaign: "Divorce The Incumbent: Marymee for Assembly."

District 59 (40% D - 48% R)

Ashley-Farrand (D)	35,940	(35)
Mountjoy (R)*	**66,922**	**(65)**

Voters in this northeast San Gabriel Valley district get a special treat this election year — a chance to vote for Richard Mountjoy twice. The Republican incumbent filed for re-election early in the election season. Then, a few weeks after the primary, the area's senator, Frank Hill, resigned after being convicted on federal corruption charges. Mountjoy immediately signed on for that race, and after a bloody fight, secured enough votes to guarantee a spot in the runoff, which was also held November 8th. His under-funded Democratic Assembly opponent, Margalo Ashley-Farrand, tried to tap into voter anger at entrenched incumbents by pointing out Mountjoy's involvement in two races. The pitch didn't prevent Mountjoy from winning, however, in one of the most conservative districts in the state. Since he also won the state Senate seat, Mountjoy will likely resign from the Assembly immediately after being sworn in, forcing a special election sometime next year to fill the already-vacant seat.

District 60 (43% D - 43% R)

Ramirez (D)	27,963	(33)
Horcher (R)*	**51,547**	**(61)**
Welte (L)	5,062	(6)

Republican incumbent Paul Horcher's district abuts both San Bernardino and Orange counties, and is a safe GOP district. A close ally of the state's trial lawyers, Horcher made a run at the state Senate seat that opened up when Senator Frank Hill resigned after his conviction on corruption charges. Horcher had less to spend than either of the other two main competitors in the Senate race, and finished third. The campaign did little to diminish his chances of returning to the Assembly, however, as the registration figures put this district solidly in the Republican camp.

District 61 (45% D - 44% R)

Silva (D)	22,762	(36)
Aguiar (R)*	**40,819**	**(64)**

An easy re-election for Republican Fred Aguiar, regarded as one of the brighter lights among the 1992 freshman class.

District 62 (58% D - 32% R)

Baca (D)*	**34,765**	**(60)**
Hibbard (R)	23,612	(40)

Joe Baca fought several bruising but futile campaigns against former Democratic Assemblyman Jerry Eaves before winning this seat in 1992 when Eaves became a San Bernardino County supervisor. The only fight Baca now will lose is to term limits.

District 63 (40% D - 49% R)

Edwards (D)	34,030	(32)
Brulte (R)*	**70,951**	**(68)**

Minority Leader Jim Brulte's success on Election Day was measured not by his own locked-up re-election but by the stunning string of Republican victories in places like Orange County, Modesto, Santa Barbara, San Jose and Fresno. In a head-to-head duel with the old master, Speaker Willie Brown Jr., Brulte's campaign operation added enough seats to the GOP caucus to potentially take control of the Assembly.

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District 64 (44% D - 45% R)

Meyer (D)	22,779	(28)
Weggeland (R)*	**54,228**	**(66)**
Henson (L)	5,258	(6)

Compared to 1992, when Republican Ted Weggeland eked out a 200-vote victory over Democrat Jane Carney, his first re-election was a cakewalk.

District 65 (41% D - 47% R)

Sandoval (D)	35,380	(37)
Granlund (R)	**60,641**	**(63)**

When three-term Republican incumbent Paul Woodruff announced he was leaving the Assembly, it set off a GOP free-for-all that attracted eight contenders. Yucaipa Councilman Brett Granlund had the biggest bankroll, thanks in part to his conservative credentials and his appeal to groups like Allied Business PAC. As a result, he won a narrow, three-point, 850-vote victory over Mark Bringhurst, a Moreno Valley businessman. In November in a district with a solid GOP registration edge, all Democrat Richard Sandoval could do was stare at Granlund's tailpipe.

District 66 (34% D - 54% R)

Hendrick (D)	30,844	(29)
Thompson (R)	**71,163**	**(67)**
Wood (PF)	4,149	(4)

Politics in the Inland Empire percolated perhaps more than in any other section of the state this year, and the 66th District was no exception. Incumbent Republican Ray Haynes vacated this seat to run for the state Senate, and like the neighboring 65th District, a covey of Republicans sought to replace him, including Haynes' staffer Trudy Thomas. But businessman Bruce Thompson captured the prize, wielding a $100,000-plus campaign treasury to outdistance Thomas and two other rivals. The general election was an afterthought.

District 67 (35% D - 51% R)

Woolf-Willis (D)	31,872	(27)
Allen (R)*	**87,550**	**(73)**

Six-term incumbent Doris Allen didn't exactly have an easy road in 1994. Not that her Democrat opponent posed much of a problem. Allen's main tussle came in the June GOP primary against Tony Nottke, a former staffer to Assemblyman Gil Ferguson (R-Newport Beach). Allen beat back Nottke's challenge, but the race had significance because Allen is expected to challenge for the state Senate seat being vacated early next year when incumbent Republican Senator Marian Bergeson leaves for a seat on the Orange County Board of Supervisors. Bergeson is expected to win that seat in a runoff next month. Allen's chief opponent in the Senate race will be Ferguson, who did not seek re-election to the Assembly this year in anticipation of his bid for the Senate. In tax-conscious Orange County, that gives Ferguson the chance to beat up on Allen for forcing her constituents to pony up for yet another special election should she be elected to the Senate. Thus, her November re-election is a preamble to the electoral fireworks expected here next year, and her solid showing gives her a boost heading into a showdown with Ferguson.

District 68 (41% D - 46% R)

Pickler (D)	28,044	(37)
Pringle (R)*	**48,033**	**(63)**

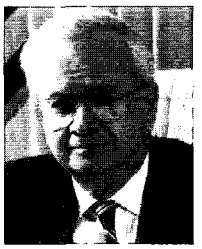
Last summer, Democrats were touting Anaheim City Councilman Irv Pickler as the perfect candidate to unseat conservative Republican Curt Pringle. The moderate Pickler was said to be a popular figure throughout Orange County, given his long, nonpartisan service on the council. But Pickler suffered an auto accident shortly before the June primary, which slowed down the 68-year-old campaigner. As a result, he scored a less-than-impressive primary victory over Linda Rigney, winning but 54 percent of the vote. Meanwhile, Assembly Democrats were fighting fires all over the state and could not give Pickler the kind of resources it would have taken to knock off Pringle, who now returns as a favorite to succeed Minority Leader Jim Brulte after term limits force Brulte out in 1996.

District 69 (56% D - 34% R)

Metzler (D)	16,515	(44)
Morrissey (R)	**19,477**	**(52)**
Reis (L)	1,725	(5)

This could be the Republicans most impressive win statewide because the district ought to belong to a Democrat — and in fact did; the incumbent is Democrat Tom Umberg, who left to run for attorney general. Not only does registration favor Democrats, but the district is 65 percent Latino and 9 percent is Asian. But Republican businessman Jim Morrissey ran a nearly flawless campaign to defeat his Democratic opponent, Chamber of Commerce President Mike Metzler. Metzler had trouble early on because his hard-fought primary victory angered the Latino community, which thought its candidate ought to carry the Democratic standard but which split votes between two Latinos. Morrissey, meanwhile, ran what his campaign called a "high-tech grassroots" effort that featured 250,000 personalized laser letters from the candidate and members of his family. Many of those letters were in Spanish and were directed at a Latino community grumpy with Metzler following the primary. Republicans even had a Spanish-speaking phone bank running every night during the final few months. The Morrissey campaign also targeted residents of mobilehome parks, who had voted for Umberg in years past. To compound problems for the Democrats, Morrissey enjoyed a huge advantage in money, thanks to at least $120,000 in cash and in-kind help from Allied Business PAC. If nothing else, Morrissey's victory will help Republicans salve some of the wounds incurred down in San Diego, where Democrats once again captured two districts with favorable Republican registration.

Metzler



Morrissey

District 70 (30% D - 56% R)

Tolendano (D)	32,669	(28)
Brewer (R)	**83,124**	**(72)**

The November election was an afterthought in this GOP stronghold, for Republican Marilyn Brewer won this race in a hard-fought, three-way primary last June. She succeeds conservative Republican Gil Ferguson, who chose not to seek re-election in anticipation of a run for the state Senate early next year and who tried to pass the torch to Tom Reinecke, the son of former Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke. But Reinecke's path to coronation was blocked by another conservative, Irvine City Councilman Barry Hammond, who was backed by Senator Rob Hurtt. This internicene warfare on the right opened the door for Brewer, a businesswoman and consultant on crime issues to Orange County Supervisor Tom Riley. Hammond and Reinecke split the conservative vote, allowing the more moderate Brewer to

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eke out a 200-vote victory over Reinecke. Her win over Democrat Jim Tolendano was much more impressive, but don't be surprised if Reinecke or Hammond — or both — are back for another shot at Brewer in 1996.

District 71 (29% D - 58% R)

Costales (D)	33,738	(28)
Conroy (R)*	**86,767**	**(72)**

This is as safe as it gets for a Republican, and two-term incumbent Mickey Conroy got himself re-elected without breaking a sweat.

District 72 (33% D - 55% R)

Dollison (D)	25,341	(24)
Johnson (R)*	**73,745**	**(71)**
Braun (L)	4,666	(5)

Incumbent Republican Ross Johnson, a former minority leader, is one of the original Proposition-13 babies, having first been elected to the Assembly in 1978. But thanks to another proposition — 140 and its imposition of term limits — his 1994 re-election will be his last.

District 73 (31% D - 53% R)

Walker (D)	29,621	(28)
Morrow (R)*	**70,309**	**(66)**
Hostler (L)	4,228	(4)
Rodriguez-Nikl (PF)	1,835	(2)

Republican freshman incumbent Bill Morrow could have snoozed through the 1994 election season, for no Democrat can mount a successful challenge in this kind of district in Orange County.

District 74 (31% D - 51% R)

Dennis (D)	35,132	(33)
Kaloogian (R)	**65,260**	**(61)**
Muhe (L)	4,621	(4)
Ferrari (PF)	2,571	(2)

The retirement of eight-term incumbent Republican Bob Frazee precipitated one of the most expensive primary elections in the state, with four Republican candidates raising and spending in excess of $100,000. Attorney Howard Kaloogian, however, was the only conservative with a lot of cash, and this coastal section of San Diego County leans heavily to the right. Given voter registration, Kaloogian had little problem with teacher and businesswoman Poppy Demarco Dennis in the general election.

District 75 (31% D - 52% R)

Wodehouse (D)	28,257	(24)
Goldsmith (R)*	**82,188**	**(70)**
Anderson (L)	4,362	(4)
Archer (PF)	2,821	(2)

Rookie Republican Jan Goldsmith's effort to legalize ferrets as pets gave disenchanted Democratic and grumpy GOP colleagues the chance to hoot at him for other perceived indiscretions. But none of this mattered come Election Day.

District 76 (42% D - 41% R)

Davis (D)	**49,448**	**(49)**
Trettin (R)	45,991	(46)
Balistrei (L)	3,274	(3)
Lake (PF)	1,737	(2)

Davis

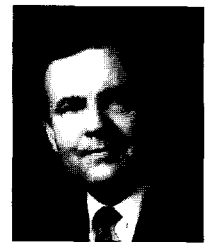
Trettin

The 76th is one of a troika of San Diego Assembly districts (with the 77th and 78th) where registration favors Republicans, but where Democrats have held the fort. As a result, all three were expensive battlegrounds, with the GOP heavily targeting the 76th and 77th. The 76th came into play when two-term incumbent Democrat Mike Gotch opted out of the race. Democrats put their faith in San Diego school board member Susan Davis, who had the primary to herself, while Republican businessman Bob Trettin had to battle through a difficult GOP contest. For the general election, both sides had plenty of cash, thanks to the largesse of their respective Assembly caucuses. Registration is nearly dead even, which tends to favor Republicans, but area voters don't always adhere to party loyalty. For example, the local senator is a former Democrat-turned-independent — Lucy Killea — whose profile matches that of Davis. Like Killea, a former vice mayor, Davis has a history of winning local non-partisan elections. Trettin, on the other hand, has a history of losing local races. Still, Assembly Republicans thought right up until Election Day that Trettin could pull off a close win. But this was one district where the Democrat was able to successfully campaign on her record.

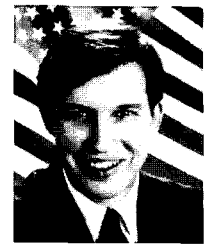
District 77 (41% D - 44% R)

Connolly (D)*	38,724	(44)
Baldwin (R)	**48,459**	**(56)**

The wildest, the wooliest, and one of the nastiest legislative races in the state,



Connolly



Baldwin

featuring two antagonists from 1992 — rookie Democrat Tom Connolly and Republican Steve Baldwin. With unlimited money available to the campaigns, both candidates had to overcome not only their opponents but also their own pasts. Connolly, for instance, spent a good portion of the campaign explaining his history of drug addiction and failed marriages, including a *mea culpa* TV ad that his camp claimed was very effective. He also was plagued with allegations that he sexually harrassed female members of his Assembly staff. Baldwin, on the other hand, tried to distance himself from a far-right reputation that probably cost him the 1992 race, including an on-camera assertion that the U.S. Air Force had an official witch. The smear, counter-smear campaign left district voters with something of a Hobson's choice. Baldwin was much better financed throughout most of the campaign, thanks in large measure to the open pocketbooks of the conservative Allied Business PAC. In the end, the weight of Connolly's baggage, plus a scary registration deficit, helped Baldwin to score a convincing victory and allowed Republicans to capture at least one of San Diego's GOP-leaning seats.

District 78 (39% D - 43% R)

Alpert (D)*	**58,851**	**(53)**
Henderson (R)	50,114	(45)
Fife (PF)	3,215	(4)

Ironically, the third member of the Democrat-held San Diego troika of GOP-coveted districts proved to be the safest for its Democratic incumbent, despite having the most solid Republican registration edge. But two-term Assemblywoman Dede Alpert's popularity cuts across party lines, and attorney Bruce Henderson had an uphill fight all the way. His plight was compounded by Alpert's track record — she destroyed a moderate former incumbent in 1992 — which meant that GOP resources went into other races with better Republican opportunities. In San Diego, that meant the 76th and 77th districts.

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District 79 (56% D - 30% R)

Ducheny (D)*	**31,888**	**(68)**
Vogel (R)	13,578	(29)
Faten (PF)	1,708	(4)

The one sure bet for Democrats in San Diego went easily for incumbent Denise Moreno Ducheny, who now starts her first full term in the Assembly. Ducheny initially won this seat this past summer in a special election to replace Democrat Steve Peace, who had been elected to the Senate.

District 80 (49% D - 40% R)

Bornstein (D)*	38,702	(44)
Battin (R)	**49,685**	**(56)**

Bornstein

Battin

Another down-and-dirty mud war, and the Assembly Republicans' number-one targeted race statewide. Freshman Democrat Julie Bornstein was named *California Journal's* "rookie-of-the-year" this past June — and both sides touted the honor in their campaigns. Bornstein made it the centerpiece of her effort, featuring her *CJ* cover portrait in television and mail ads. Republican Jim Battin, on the other hand, used the *Journal's* designation as evidence that Bornstein was a Sacramento insider tied to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., and thus out-of-touch with her district. For her part, Bornstein tried to tar Battin as a child of the far right, which he denied. Battin launched a last-minute hit featuring what he claimed was the incumbent's financial problems as a realtor in Los Angeles during the 1980s. Both campaigns utilized unlimited financial resources to pepper the desert district with mail, radio and television ads. Bornstein's campaign seemed in some turmoil toward the end, however, with two of her campaign staffers being axed in the final month. In addition, she proved to be on the wrong side of Proposition 187, and efforts to energize the district's sizeable Latino population on her behalf seemed to fall flat.

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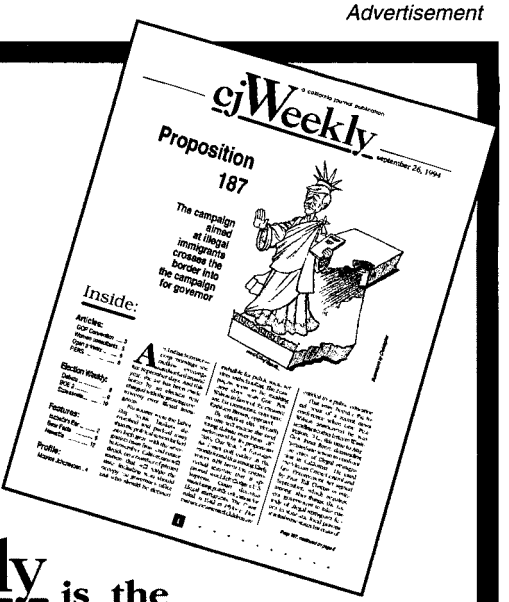
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Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

Election 1994

If you want to trace the makings of the Republican triumph across the nation in last month's elections, you might need to reach back to Bill Clinton and his promise to lift the ban on gays in the military.

THAT'S NOT TO SAY THAT THE ELECTORATE WAS obsessed with that emotional issue, which has largely faded from the collective consciousness. Nor that Clinton was wrong to make that promise or to attempt to keep it. It's simply that the debate in the first months of Clinton's presidency, pitting gay rights against military morale, etched an image of the president as a traditional Democratic liberal embroiled in messy feuding with a more conservative Congress.

This image of Clinton as an unreconstructed Democrat in fractious battle with lawmakers was only reinforced last year by the battle over his budget package. Clinton's plan tamed the wild federal deficit, at least for a few years, but the debate was all about the president's willingness to raise taxes (even if only on the rich) and his abandonment of his campaign pledge to deliver a tax cut for the middle class. This year, Bill and Hillary Clinton's breathtakingly ambitious effort to give the nation an entirely new health care system was blocked by moderates and conservatives in both parties who portrayed it as the ultimate liberal scheme to solve a problem by turning it over to a costly new bureaucracy.

Down the drain went years of effort by then-Governor Clinton of Arkansas and his fellow founders of the Democratic Leadership Council to recast themselves and their party as a centrist force. And down the drain went the Democrats' immediate hopes of building a new working majority in the nation. Now, Clinton has no choice but to do what he promised before he got to the White House: to attempt to govern from the political center. The problem is that he is damaged goods politically, and the Republicans in Congress may prove to be even more recalcitrant, and more zealously conservative, than before.

The voters who cast their ballots last month were clearly angry at Washington and its gridlock. But they did not just lash out and vote to "throw the bums out." They focused like a laser on the Democrats who have ruled Congress and still run the White House. Not a single Republican incumbent was defeated.

That's why the exceptions to that Republican landslide — such as Senators Ted Kennedy in Massachusetts, Chuck Robb in Virginia and Dianne Feinstein in California — are doubly noteworthy. In each case, the Democrat was able to depict the Republican challenger as a particularly risky and unpalatable choice. (At press time, Feinstein's victory was not yet final due the counting of absentee ballots.)

In the California race, Republican Michael Huffington had the advantage of claiming the "outsider's" role that Feinstein had played as a female challenger two years ago. But Huffington's willingness to spend $28 million of his family's Texas oil fortune to buy a Senate seat only made him a too-visible target for attacks as a carpetbagging lightweight.

Although Feinstein fared better than many of her Democratic colleagues, the California race reflected the prevailing nastiness of the season. Campaign commercials across the country were unrelentingly vicious and negative, the candidates' hired guns having advised them that discussing real issues or boasting of one's own virtues was a waste of valuable TV air time. Where candidates used to suggest that their opponents were "less than candid," they now casually call each other hypocrites and liars. That was certainly true as Huffington and Feinstein hurled charges and counter-charges concerning their respective illegal immigrant nannies. "Mrs. Feinstein has lied, lied, lied, lied, lied," Huffington said, presumably for emphasis, at one point.

Proposition 187, the effort to cut off benefits to illegal immigrants, brought out that sort of animosity on both sides. Jeered for her opposition to the ballot measure during an appearance on the "Geraldo" talk show, hapless gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown said: "It's what Proposition 187 unleashes. It unleashes anger and passion. It unleashes them in a way that I think is risky for California." It also unleashed a new level of animosity between Governor Pete Wilson and Clinton.

Hard-line measures along the lines of Proposition 187 may become serious legislative business in Washington with Republicans ruling Congress. "It's certainly going to make it much more likely that we do something about illegal immigration," predicted Congressman Christopher Cox (R-Newport Beach). "We've had a lot of speechmaking and absolutely no action."

AS WILSON RODE THE ANGER OVER ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS to victory, Proposition 187 also opened new animosities within the Republican Party that may have a lasting impact. Leading Republican conservatives Jack Kemp and William Bennett came out against the ballot measure, calling it mean-spirited and divisive and taking on fellow Republican Wilson in the process. Kemp's opposition to 187 was not all that surprising because he has long been a vigorous advocate of a more inclusive brand of Republicanism that would reach out to minorities and address the problems of the inner cities. But Bennett has been better-known as a combative champion of traditional values in education and family life.

The intra-GOP fighting may be the first skirmish of the 1996 elections if, as some expect, Wilson aspires to join a crowded field for his party's presidential nomination. Kemp is considering another run for the presidency as well. And the campaign season just behind us provided other glimpses of potential friction and feuding to come among the triumphant Republicans. One striking example: the defection of the GOP's biggest big-city mayors — Rudolph Guiliani of New York, who endorsed losing Democratic Governor Mario Cuomo and Richard Riordan of Los Angeles, who endorsed Feinstein.

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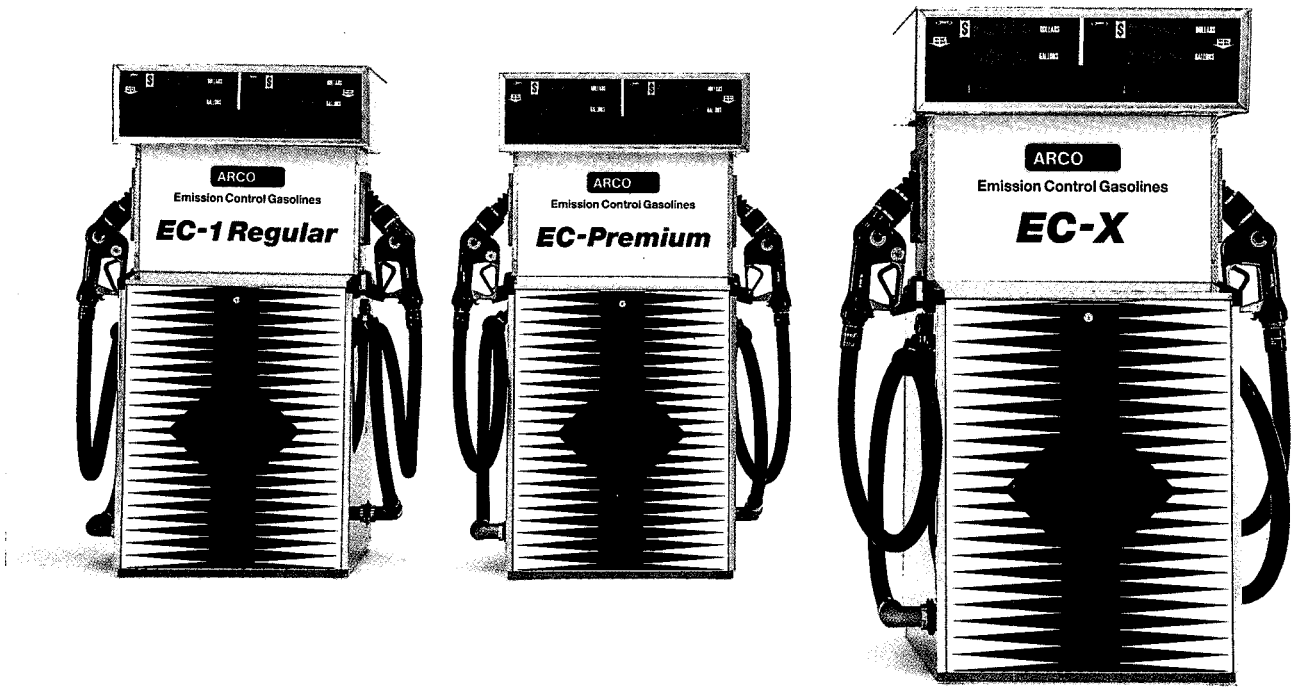

EMISSION CONTROL GASOLINES. REFORMULATED FUELS OF THE FUTURE.

When ARCO introduced its first reformulated gasoline, EC-1, in 1989, it marked the greatest advance in the use of fuels to reduce vehicular air pollution in decades.

In 1991, ARCO announced test results of a new formulation called EC-X, a fuel that would reduce vehicular emissions by an average of 3.8 million pounds per day if used by all vehicles in California.

Reformulated fuels represent the fastest, most economical and most practical way to clean up our nation's skies. More importantly, this environmental advance can be made using vehicles on the road today, with no retrofits required.

ARCO is proud of the role it has played in developing clean fuels for the future.

ARCO
CLEAN FUELS FOR THE FUTURE.

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